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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ORIGIN AND RISE

OF THE

REPUBLIC OF VENICE.

BY

WILLIAM CAREW HAZLITT.

VOL. I.

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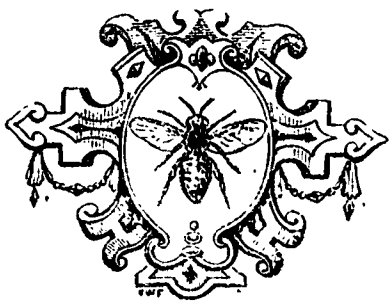

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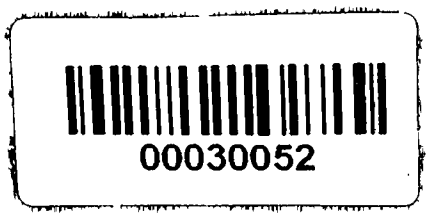

Once did she hold the gorgeous East in fee;
And was the safeguard of the West: the worth
Of Venice did not fall below her birth,
Venice, the eldest Child of Liberty.
She was a Maiden City, bright and free;
No guile seduced, no force could violate;
And when she took unto herself a mate,
She must espouse the Everlasting Sea.
And what, if she had seen those glories fade,
Those titles vanish, and that strength decay,
When her long life hath reached its final day.
Men are we, and must grieve, when even the shade
Of that, which once was great, has passed away.

Wordsworth's *Misc. Works*, vol. iii. p. 210, ed. 1820.

There is a glorious City in the sea.
The sea is in the broad, the narrow streets,
Ebbing and flowing; and the salt seaweed
Clings to the marble of her palaces.
No track of men, no footsteps to and fro,
Lead to her gates. The path lies o'er the sea,
Invisible;———

Italy, p. 47, edit. 4to, 1830.

Over how many tracts, vast, measureless,
Ages on ages roll, and none appear
Save the wild hunter ranging for his prey;
While on this spot of earth, the work of man,
How much has been transacted? Emperors, Popes,
Warriors from far and wide, laden with spoil,
Landing, have here performed their several parts,
Then left the stage to others. Not a stone
In the broad pavement, but to him who has
An eye, an ear, for the Inanimate World,
Tells of past ages.

Ibid. pp. 57-8.

PREFACE.

The present History of the Origin and Rise of the Republic of Venice claims that share of favour and indulgence at the hands of the public, which may be due to a production, compiled almost entirely from original materials, presenting a large body of facts, little known, perhaps even to many well read in the mediæval history of Italy; bringing under notice points of material importance, which had been overlooked by preceding writers; and, from unexplored sources, throwing light on subjects, which had been too hastily regarded as hopelessly obscure. That I have been unable to give more elucidation to the early history of the Republic, may be matter of regret, rather than of surprise: I can only remark, that when I undertook the present work, I had no conception, that M. Daru and others had done so little toward the attainment of the desired result, and that, consequently, so much remained to be done.

I have already observed, that by far the greater part of what follows, is derived from original sources. To this work I may affirm with truth, that the labours of MM. Laugier and Daru have contributed next to nothing. It is to such writers as Sandi, Marin, Filiasi, and, I may add, Romanin, that I have to acknowledge myself indebted in chief measure; indeed, I should never have ventured to prosecute the arduous task, had I not received much valuable assistance from those who, like the historians I have named, have shewn such indefatigable industry in the collection of materials, or who, like Dandolo and Da Canale, have left us so faithful and exact, albeit so dry, an account of the events, which happened in their times, or in times so near their own.

Of the great light thrown by Da Canale on the history of Venice in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Daru and his predecessors have neglected to avail themselves; this is probably owing to the circumstance that, though composed at so early a date, the work in question was not printed till within the last twenty years, when it was given to the world of literature in the eighth volume of that valuable collection, the *Archivio Storico Italiano*. The same observation may apply to the *Cronaca Altinate*, which has also furnished me with some useful and authentic particulars, that might be vainly sought in works of greater historical pretension.

I have endeavoured to collect, in the following pages, as many notices or allusions, as I could discover, illustrative of the manners and customs of the early Venetians; this I considered a most important point. That the notices and allusions in question will be thought meagre and unsatisfactory, I do not doubt. But it must be borne in mind, that the subject is very obscure; and the reader may be assured, that the matter, such as it is, has not been brought together from the various works, through which it was scattered, without a fair share of labour and research. For it was far from Daru or from Laugier to trouble themselves with such *minutiæ*, the introduction of which might have laid them open to the reproach of descending beneath the dignity of history.

In conclusion, I may observe, that the works, from which I have principally drawn in the composition of the present volumes, are, in number, seven, viz.: Andrea Dandolo, *Chronicum Venetum*, ad an. 1380 (*Rerum Italicarum Script.* xii.); Bernardo Giustiniani, *De Origine et Gestis Venetorum*, ad annum 800 A.D.; Martino da Canale, *Cronaca Veneta*, ad annum 1280 (*Archivio Storico Italiano*, viii.); *Cronaca Altinate;* Vettore Sandi, *Principii della Storia Civile della Reppublica di Venezia*, 9 vols. 4to, Venezia, 1755-72; Carlo Antonio Marin, *Storia Civile e Politica del Commercio dei Veneziani*, 8 vols. 8vo, Venezia, 1798-1808; Jacopo Filiasi, *Me-*

morie Storiche dei Veneti Primi e Secondi, e Saggio sul Antico Commercio dei Veneziani, 8 vols. 8vo, *Padova,* 1811-14; Samuel Romanin, *Storia Documentata di Venezia* (still in progress).

I have been under obligations of a less important nature to Leon Galibert, *Histoire de la République de Venise,* 8vo, Paris, 1847; Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia Descritta in* XIIII *Libri, con aggiunta da Martinioni,* 8vo, Venezia, 1663; P. Daru, *Histoire de la République de Venise,* 8 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1821, seconde edition, revue et corrigeé; Domenigo Tiepolo, *Discorsi sulla Storia Veneta dal Signor Daru,* 2 vols. 12mo, Udine, 1828; Giacomo Diedo, *Storia della Reppublica di Venezia,* 4 vols. 4to, Venezia, 1751; Eusebe Salverte, *Civilization: Venise, Raguse,* 8vo, Paris, 1835; Eugene Labaume, *Histoire Abregée de la République de Venise,* 2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1811; Cristoforo Tentori, *Saggio sulla Storia Civile, Politica, ed Ecclesiastica della Rep. di Venezia,* 12 vols. 12mo, Venezia, 1798-1800; Vincenzo Formaleoni, *Saggio sulla Nautica Antica dei Veneziani,* 8vo, Venezia, 1783; Girolamo Zanetti, *Dell' Origine e dell' Antichita della Moneta Venezianа Ragionamento,* 8vo, Venetiis, 1750; ibid. *De Nummis Regum Mysiæ seu Rasciæ ad Venetos typos percussis Commentariolum,* same place and date; *Ricerche Storico-critiche sull' Opportunita della Laguna Veneta pel Commercio, sull' Arti, e sulla Marina di questo Stato,* 8vo, Venezia, 1803; Pietro Marcello, *Vite de*

Principi di Venezia, tradotte in Volgare da Lodovico Domenichi, 4to, Venezia, 1557. There are many others, and of a leading character, which I could mention, but I have no space for farther enumeration. Indeed, to furnish a complete catalogue of the works, which I have consulted in the course of my labours, would be next to impossible. The citations in the foot-notes do not, I apprehend, represent more than a moiety of the whole number, which would probably be found to exceed three hundred separate and distinct works.

In *Notes and Queries* (i. p. 35) there is, I observe, a letter from Sir F. Madden, in which he refers to certain passages in Venetian history, which have been misrepresented by M. P. Daru. It would be an ungrateful and invidious task, indeed; but, if I were to follow in the steps of Sir Frederick, by pointing to all the errors, into which the writer above mentioned has fallen, more particularly in the earlier portion of his narrative, where a greater amount of research was requisite, I fear that I should soon swell this introductory matter into a little volume. It is only surprising that a work, which is really so unsound and of such questionable value, should have passed through so many editions, and have been allowed to take so high a place in European literature. I have only been referring to the errors of commission; those of omission are all but equally gross and unpardonable. In a later number of *Notes and Queries*, there

is a farther article on Venetian history, from the pen of Mr. Singer.

Many readers will be acquainted, at least by reputation, with a curious and somewhat scarce work, entitled *Squittinio della Liberta Veneta*, 4to, Mirandola, 1612. But they may not be aware, that another work, almost equally curious, and much more bulky, was written in 1639, to defend the other side of the question. Its title runs thus: *Theodori Graswinckeli, Delphensis, J. C. Libertas Veneta, sive Venetorum in se ac suos imperandi jus, assertum contra Anonymum* SCRUTINII *Scriptorem*, 4to, Lugd. Bat. 1639. I have also in my possession a small pamphlet of twelve pages on the same subject, entitled *Pro Libertate Status et Reipublicæ Venetorum Gallofranci* (*Servini*) *ad Philenetum Epistola*, 4to, Parisiis, 1606. The latter seems to shew that, when the *Squittinio* was written in 1612, the points, which it raised, were not altogether new to literature: they had already been discussed by Gallofrancus, six years before.

Nov. 1*st*, 1857.

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ERRATA.

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Page 6, line 6, *for* on *read* in.
— 27, — 11, *for* two *read* ten.
— 80, — 6, *for* natives *read* motives.
— 143, — 3, *for* recall *read* recal.
— 143, — 17, *for* recall *read* recal.

VOL. II.

Page 22, line 22, *for* colleagues *read* colleague.
— —, — —, *for* anxious *read* conscious.
— 217, — 4, *for* seemed *read* seems.
— 219, — 3, *for* 1116 *read* 1216.
— 321, — 13, *for* object *read* objects.
— 370, — 24, *for* Castello *read* San Polo.
— 394, — 19, *for* was *read* were.
Passim, *for* afterwards *read* afterward.
Passim, *for* towards *read* toward.

HISTORY OF VENICE.

CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT VENETIA—IRRUPTION OF THE GOTHS—THE HUNS—THE VANDALS—THE HERULI—SECOND IRRUPTION OF THE GOTHS—VENICE UNDER THE GOTHS.

SEVERAL centuries before the commencement of the Christian era, the Veneti were dwelling among the Euganean Hills.[1] Their dominion comprehended thirty-five cities, counting one million five hundred thousand inhabitants, who were known and feared by the neighbouring peoples as the uncorrupted scions of a hardy race. An obscure, but precious, tradition taught the Veneti to believe that their forefathers, under the guidance of the famed Antenor, renouncing the hope of return to their native land after the fall of Troy, had penetrated into the genial regions of Italy, where they found a large but disunited nation, which soon either courted their friendship, or wore their yoke. The new comers gradually acquired the art of navigation, the mode of rearing bees, and of cultivating vines and olives, which grew rapidly in a rich and luxuriant soil. Their poverty guarded their virtue: their virtue preserved their power. The produce of the salt-pits and fisheries, on which the Veneti mainly subsisted, also formed the

[1] Micali (*Italia avanti il Dominio dei Romani*, vol. i. p. 86, *et seq.*).

germ of an extensive commerce with Britain and the adjacent islands. The colonists successively reduced beneath their sway the ports situate on the Gulf of Adria; they at last presumed to dispute with Rome herself the sovereignty of the seas; their intrepidity even carried them so far as to encounter, in more than one regular engagement, the victorious arms of Julius Cæsar, who experienced, at the hands of those bold and adroit mariners, fully as determined a resistance, as had been offered by the Ædui and Helveti; and when Venetia yielded, in the lapse of time, to the prowess of the consular legions, the conquered territory was accounted the fairest province of the Roman empire.[1]

In the Augustan age, Venetia and Istria combined to form the tenth *Region;* under Constantine, the seventeenth province of Rome. Venetia itself was divided into Prima and Secunda, or Maritima, the latter of which had been long known to the conquerors as the *Gallicæ Paludes.* Venetia Maritima was bounded on the east by the Adriatic, on the north by the Julian Alps, on the west by an imaginary line drawn between the Adige and the Po, and on the south by the latter river. The inclining plain of Northern Italy, verging continually toward the sea, is irrigated by several rivers; —the Livenza and Isonzo, which rise in the Alps; the Brenta, the Musone, the Piave, and the Adige, which ooze from the snows of the Tyrol; and the Po, which, after

[1] Cicero, in one of his Philippics, calls Venetia, "Flos Italiæ, et ornamentum Populi Romani." See also Cæsar (*De Bello Gallico,* lib. iii. sect. 13); Strabo (vol. i. p. 195).

receiving the waters of the Alps and the Apennines, falls into the Adriatic at its western angle. But since the strength and rapidity of the currents of these rivers are considerably increased by the sloping nature of the plains through which they flow, it may be conceived, without much difficulty, that, in their passage to the main they would loosen and remove the sands and mud accumulated on their banks, and deposit this matter at their confluences, which lie within a short distance of each other. These alluvial deposits, again, which bore testimony to the laborious and unrestricted operations of nature in that quarter, gradually assumed the form of mounds, which, in the language of the country, were designated Lidi or, as we might perhaps term them, Holms; while many, which acquired greater size and solidity than the rest, deserved the name of islands. It might be naturally expected that the holms or islands, thus rising, as it were, out of the sea, at a short distance from the mainland, would have lost in the lapse of time their original character, and that the whole intermediate expanse of morass or *lagoon* would have been ultimately engirt by an unbroken belt of sand. And, in truth, such a result was only obviated by the estuaries, which were formed along the upper coast of Northern Italy by the frequent intermingling of opposite currents, and which, by a large number of winding and tortuous channels, divided the *lidi* at irregular intervals, at the same time that they afforded access to the lagoons. On those islands, then—barren, desolate, and uninhabited—a few hundred stragglers, exiles from their native soil, were

driven, in the fifth century of our era, by the force of adversity to seek a temporary home; and on this singular site the fugitives laid the foundations of the proud and powerful Venice, by erecting here and there on the *lidi* a few huts of mud and osiers.

We are told by Strabo, that in his day the country immediately contiguous to the Gulf of Adria, was intersected in every quarter by rivers, streams, and morasses;[1] Aquileia and Ravenna were then cities in the marshes; and it appears probable that, had not they checked the inroads of the sea by a circumvallation of dykes, the whole region would have presented, in the course of time, the aspect of a salt-lake.

The climate of ancient Venetia was generally tepid, occasionally chilly. In the spring, the atmosphere was gratefully tempered by the sea-breezes; during the summer, the frequent recurrence of storms cleared the air, and deluged the plains; snow was rare and transient. The soil was rich and fertile: it was composed of ashes, dust, and bitumen, varied and enriched, at certain levels, by layers of salt.[2] Salt also formed, with honey, oil, fish, and wine, the staple commodities of the country.

A few coincidences seem to favour a supposition that the Veneti of the Adriatic, and the Venedi of the Baltic,

[1] It was scarcely less so in the fourth century of our era: for we read (Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 288), that the usurper Magnentius took up a strong position, A.D. 352, on the borders of these morasses.

[2] Cuvier (*Recherches sur les Fossiles*, i. 71); Antonio L. Moro (*Degli Crustacei ed altri Marini Corpi*, cap. 25, p. 384); Zendrini (*Memorie-Storiche della Laguna di Venezia*, vol. i. 1); Cuvier (*Theory of the Earth*, 1813; Supplement).

were originally, though, as it is admitted, at a very remote period, one and the same people. These coincidences may be shortly stated:—1. Both had the peculiar custom of sacrificing a white charger to Diomed, King of Thrace. 2. Both exhibited marked skill in the art of breeding horses. 3. Both traded in amber and flax. But, on the other hand, there are two important circumstances, which might seem equally favourable to the presumption, that the original settlers of Venetia emigrated, not from the Baltic, but from the Lesser Asia. In the first place, the early coins of the Republic bore, if we may credit Zanetti, a close and striking resemblance to those in use among the inhabitants of Mysia, the modern Anatolia;[1] in the second, the *Berretta* or *Corno* of the early Doges was, according to the same authority, an exact copy of the crown worn by the ancient Phrygian kings.[2] Again, there are some ethnologists who maintain that this people came from Vannes, a town in Armorica Gallica. But it may be certainly said that these writers adduce in support of their view, no evidence or testimony of a conclusive character. Who shall pronounce between these various and conflicting accounts? The doubt lies, however, we think, only between the Baltic and Asia Minor. We incline, though with unfeigned diffidence, to the latter. For we should mention that Micali and other excellent authorities join in treating the story, which assigns to the Veneti a

[1] Zanetti (*Diss. de Nummis Regum Mysiæ ad Venetos typos percussis*); ibid. (*Dissertazione sull' Antichita della Moneta Veneziana*).

[2] Zanetti (*Dissertazione sulla Berretta Ducale*).

Trojan origin, as a pure fable; they show, and, as it would seem, satisfactorily, that at the time of the siege of Ilium, the Veneti were already dwelling among the Euganean Hills, an independent, if not a powerful, nation; nor should we, perhaps, overlook the fact, that by placing general and implicit faith in all the existing traditions on the subject of Trojan colonization, we necessarily admit, that a large portion of the population of modern Europe has sprung from the blood of Æneas and Antenor.[1]

Venetian writers have been at considerable pains to show that their country was always in a state of absolute freedom; and that, while the Veneti courted and enjoyed the friendship of Rome, they never wore the yoke, to which all other European nations were compelled at last to bow. In later times, equally specious arguments have been adduced in the attempt to prove the assertion, that the claim of Venice to immemorial liberty and independence was wholly void of foundation. And there was a time when this question possessed a large share of interest and importance, and when the origin and antiquity of Venetian freedom formed an inexhaustible theme for libellers and pamphleteers. We speak of the period when the animosity, which had so long existed between the courts of Rialto and Madrid, had almost reached its height. Excepting in an historical light, the point has

[1] See, in addition to the authorities already quoted, Filiasi (vol. i. p. 554); Denina (*Revoluzioni d'Italia*, vol. ii. *passim*); Micali (*Antichi Popoli d'Italia*, vol. ii. pp. 26-9); ibid. (*Italia avanti i Romani*, vol. i. pp. 91-2-3); Herodotus (i. 96; iv. 62 and 74; v. 91).

now lost every element of attraction; nor do we feel disposed to resuscitate here an idle and unprofitable controversy. For it was one, as we consider, in which neither the honour nor the reputation of the republic was in any way concerned. If, which we hardly believe, the Venetians inherited their freedom, they were fortunate indeed; if they acquired it, the greater was their glory. The probability is, however, that, even were their pretension to original and absolute independence a just and well-grounded pretension, they were indebted for it not so much to their power, as to their obscurity, and to the imperfect acquaintance of the earlier Romans with transpadan Gaul.[1]

The names of the fifteen principal islands, situate in the Adriatic lagoons, near the bosom of the gulf, were Chiozza or Chioggia, Pelestrina, Equilo, Mazzorbo, Burano, Malamocco, Rialto, Olivolo (or, as it was afterwards called, Castello), San Nicolo del Lido, San Erasmo, Caorlo, Torcello, Grado, Leguano, and Amiano.[2] The origin of these islands has been already related: their antiquity must remain doubtful; yet we are led to conclude that the islands which at the period of the Hunnic invasion, afforded scanty shelter to a few hundred families, had supplanted, by a gradual process of deposit, others, which may have existed on the same site at an earlier epoch. For we learn from Filiasi, that the island, which was subse-

[1] Cristoforo Tentori (*Saggio sulla storia Veneta*, vol. i. p. 43); Salverte (*Civilization: Venise, Raguse*, p. 19); Daru (*Histoire de Venise*, vol. i. p. 37); Antonio de la Queva (*Squittinio della Liberta Veneta*); Nicolo Crasso (*De Formâ Reip. Ven.* pp. 8, 9, 10).

[2] B. Giustiniani (lib. v. p. 56-7).

quently known as Grado, formed, in the second century, a favourite residence of the ancient bishops of Aquileia, who embellished it with orchards, pastures, vineyards, and olive-groves; and that, in conjunction with Caprulæ or Caorlo, the same island and port were selected, in more than one instance, as the quarters of the Roman army and the anchorage of the Roman fleet. In this part of the lagoon, moreover (observes the same writer), canals of vast width and extent are still visible; and these canals were excavated, as Filiasi imagines, by the Aquileians, in conformity with a plan on which they had fixed for maintaining their communication with the gulf, from which the alluvial deposits of each year were then removing them farther and farther.

Among the Euganean Hills there was a stream called Rivum Altum or Realtum, a branch of the Adige, which, after flowing for a considerable distance along the skirts of the lagoon, and giving its name to one of the Adriatic islands, emptied its waters into the Gulf of Venice. The island, to which the Realtum thus gave its name, was destined, could it be foreseen, to become the site of a flourishing city, and the capital of a great republic.

The wide field of inquiry which was opened by the decline and fall of the Roman empire, and which has been traversed and explored by so many able writers, scarcely comes within the scope of the present work; and a general review of the events which immediately preceded the siege of Rome by the Huns in 452, will, in all probability, amply meet the purpose.

On the demise of Constantine the Great (337), his

extensive dominions were divided among his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. In 353, the violent death of his two brothers left the second sole emperor. In 360, however, Constantius, feeling incapable of sustaining the undivided weight of a vast and sinking empire, was under the necessity of decorating his nephew Gallus with the purple, and of intrusting to his care the Eastern Provinces. But the feeble and odious character of the new Cæsar speedily procured his deposition, and imprisonment in the fortress of Pola, in Istria, where he died; and by the decease of Constantius himself in 361, the monarchy devolved on Julian, called the Apostate, who, again, was succeeded, after a reign of two years, by Jovian (363). The history of Rome from the accession of the last-named prince to the final partition of the empire, is a brief but memorable page in the history of the world; the genius of Theodosius was overmatched by the imbecile timidity of Honorius, the selfish avarice of Placidia, the dangerous talents of Stilicho, the prudent valour of Alaric. Rome trembled, and she fell (409).

Forty-three years later, Attila, or Etzel, King of the *Huns*, invaded Italy,[1] where he hoped to find and to conquer a rich and feeble province, which the Romans, disunited by faction and enervated by luxury, seemed unable to protect. The savage and grotesque horde of warriors, of whom Attila was the general and the sovereign, proudly traced their descent from the pastoral tribes which, two thousand years before the Christian era,

[1] Lebeau (*Histoire du Bas Empire*, vol. v. p. 74 *et seq.*); *Histoire Générale des Huns*, vol. i. part 2, ch. i.

were dwelling beyond the frontiers of China. As the barbarians advanced toward the sea, the whole peninsula was laid waste and desolate; and the level plains of Lombardy, and the smiling fields of Umbria and Liguria, became soon the property and prey of the invaders, whose strange and uncouth mien was regarded by their victims with a feeling of pious horror. The maritime districts of Istria and Dalmatia underwent, in their turn, a similar fate; and such of the inhabitants of those forlorn regions, as had the courage and self-possession to effect their escape, sought shelter, by a natural impulse, in the neighbouring lagoons, where a colony of fugitives and exiles gradually formed themselves into a little nation. The Paduans fled to Malamocco and Rialto, the Aquileians to Grado, the Concordians to Caorlo, the Asolese to Equilio or Equilo, the Altinese to Torcello and Amiano;[1] and the investiture of three Paduan citizens with the consular title and the chief authority, seems to have been a tacit recognition of the higher claim and superior power of their city. It may be inferred, too, that in their choice of a government (for without government, no society of men can well exist), the members of the new commonwealth were guided by the example of Rome, from which they traced and vaunted their descent. The first consular triumvirate, which consisted, it is said, of Alberigo Faliero, Tommaso Candiano, and Zeno Daulo or Dandolo, remained in office during three years; under the second, the dignity became biennial; and in 457, the consuls were supplanted by annual tribunes, who

[1] *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. iii. p. 92).

varied in number, during a period of two hundred and forty years, from one to twelve.[1] Of the nature and extent of an authority which has furnished no records of its acts, and left few traces, indeed, of its very existence, it is, of course, difficult to form a correct or even an approximate notion: yet it is rational to suppose that, in their original calling, these magistrates were merely required to administer justice and to punish crime, to pronounce legal decisions, and preserve public order. In that rude and primitive age, the general interests of the community were avowedly discussed and secured in periodical assemblies, termed, in the Venetian dialect, *Arrengi*, composed of the whole adult male population of the islands, none of whom might, as it seemed, be justly charged with converting the right of public debate into a privilege or monopoly. But it is not difficult to recognise in this representative system a lamentable want of compact organization: the Arrengo was, in fact, too large and factious an assembly to act in harmony, or to exercise a salutary influence over public affairs; and in the process of time, it lost many of its original functions and prerogatives, till it became at last quite a subordinate element in the body-politic. The weakness of the legislature naturally strengthened the hands of the executive; the tribunes soon felt their power, and soon abused it; each aspired to absolute and undivided authority; and the nation had frequent cause to complain that their confidence was claimed and betrayed by a single magistrate,

[1] *Chronico de cose fatti dai Veneti dalla prima origine della citta.* Venice, 1557. Donato Giannotti (*De Rep. Venetorum*, pp. 25-6-7).

who dared to violate, even while he was affecting to protect, their dearest and most sacred privileges. Yet the temper of the multitude is slothful and indulgent; though ungovernable in its paroxysms of rage, its patience is long, its vengeance tardy; and it was a tolerably sure sign that his conduct had been grossly injudicious, his tyranny insufferably oppressive, when the *Gastaldo* was reminded by the outbreak of a popular insurrection, that he was simply the responsible minister of a free commonwealth.

The excesses of these annual magistrates—who indeed seldom bequeathed to their successors anything beyond the task of perpetuating civil discord and public misery, led, however, as a natural consequence, to several changes and modifications, at different periods, in the Venetian government. In 503, for instance, after forty-six years of polyarchy and confusion, we find that one gastaldo was invested by the national assembly with supreme authority and plenary jurisdiction; and this new form of administration had actually a duration of seventy-one years. In 574, however, the monarchic system fell into odium and disuse; a fresh revolution was effected in the government, and the direction of public affairs was then intrusted to ten tribunes. Finally, in 654, two gastaldi having been given to the island of Heraclia, recently colonized by fugitives from Oderzo, these magistrates were added to the existing number, which remained unchanged till the institution of the ducal office in 697.[1]

[1] Sansovino (*Chronico Veneto*, p. 4); Nicolo Zeno (*Chronico de fatti Veneti*); Galibert (ch. ii. p. 18).

Although the pressure of misfortune might have momentarily placed the Venetians on a certain footing of equality, it had not produced any impression of a lasting character on the higher, or permanently ameliorated the condition of the humbler, class of fugitives. Sympathy might perhaps level, for a while, the social distinctions of rank and quality; and want of shelter or scarcity of nourishment might compel a community of nobles and fishermen to co-operate, at first, in obviating or removing a danger which was common, and might be fatal, to both. But we are unable to believe that such an order of things existed any longer, when the primitive settlement of the Venetians grew into a city, and their origin faded into a tradition. Surely in Venice, as in other states, poverty or virtue promoted industry; industry produced opulence; opulence purchased power or pampered luxury. The creation of a new society, and the accession of new families, led the citizens of the lagoon to form or encourage more conventional ideas, and to feel or imagine less absolute necessities. Various capacities followed and fulfilled various callings; and genius or tact always exercised, and often abused, an influence over intellectual weakness or sensual indolence.[1] The vulgar eye, blinded by ignorance or veneration, seldom paused to penetrate the veil, which the more crafty of the citizens used to disguise their conduct and designs; and the man who was

[1] Speaking of the old Venetian Arrengo, however, the Abbé Laugier says, "C'etait une déliberation commune, où chaque particulier donna son avis librement, sans que l'avis de l'un eut aucune prépondérance sur l'avis de l'autre!" Quite a study for Sir Thomas More.

reluctant to become the accomplice or instrument, was not unfrequently made the dupe, of more powerful intriguers.

Yet as they spread their nets, and gathered their salt, the fishermen of Rialto surveyed with complacency their own humble, but secure, condition, while they regarded with a feeling somewhat akin to disdain the successive dynasties of barbarians, which usurped the throne of the Cæsars.[1]

The ferocious Attila had expired in 453; and the colossal empire, which his genius alone had created and could preserve, rapidly crumbled into decay under his feeble successor. In 455, Genseric, King of the Vandals, prompted by the twofold motive of avarice and curiosity, and invited, as an avenger of her own wrongs, by Eudocia, the consort of the Emperor Maximus, sailed from Carthage, and arrived, with a large body of troops, at the mouth of the Tiber, where the Empress hailed him as a friend and deliverer. But the barbarian, affecting disgust at the perfidy, which had opened to him the port of Ostia and the gates of Rome, was so cruel and ungrateful as to strip his fair accomplice of her jewels and ornaments, and to include her in the train of his captives, while he abandoned the Capitol to sack and pillage, and carried off the youth of both sexes, to the number of two thousand, as concubines or slaves.

Again, in 476, Romulus Augustulus, a patrician by birth, and the last of the Roman kings, was dethroned and

[1] Francesco Marcolini (*Origine dei Barbari, che distrussero l'impero Romano, onde ebbe principio la reppublica di Venezia.* Venice, 1557).

succeeded by Odoacer, King of the Heruli; and lastly, in 489, the latter prince was defeated and treacherously slain by Theodoric, a scion of the Amali, who founded in his own person the Gothic kingdom of Italy.

None of these revolutions affected, in any material degree, the fortunes or liberties of the Island Republic; and we scarcely feel that the nature of the present work calls on us to inquire with any degree of minuteness into the origin or general effect of the Gothic and Hunnic irruptions; yet, at the same time, it should be observed that, while those accumulated disasters converted the whole of the continent of Europe into a desert and a charnel-house, they formed the basis of the future prosperity of the merchant-princes of Venice.

During a long and peaceful reign of three-and-thirty years, Theodoric the Great was the legislator and the sovereign of a docile and obedient people, whose virtue and barbaric pride prompted them to imitate the arts and refinements of the nation which they had vanquished, and for a while, at least, to shun the vices which had insensibly grown up with those arts and those refinements. The Goths, who rapidly acquired the dominion of the vast region extending from Sicily to the Danube, and from Belgrade to the Atlantic Ocean,[1] affected to disguise their power under the pleasing name of alliance or hospitality; and the wise moderation of their king led him to admit the Romans to the civil offices of the government, and not merely to tolerate, but to protect, the established religion of Italy.[2]

[1] Gibbon (vol. ii. pp. 262-6, 275, 400-2).

[2] It is well known that the Goths professed the doctrines of Arius.

Under the successors of this enlightened prince, the rapid decline of the monarchy, which he had founded, and the victories of the illustrious Belisarius, the lieutenant of Justinian, exhibited the gradual and furtive influence of climate and example over the susceptible mind of the Goth, and the partial regeneration of the martial spirit in the breast of the Roman; and although the brilliant achievements of two later monarchs, Vitigis and Totila, reflected a parting ray of glory on the gloomy horizon, the superior talents of the eunuch Narses dispelled for ever the once cherished hope of restoring to the Gothic kingdom of Italy the vigour and stability which it had possessed under Theodoric and his immediate successor. The fall of that short-lived monarchy might be delayed, perhaps, it could not be averted, by the uxorious weakness of Justin II., and the selfish parsimony of his consort Theodora; and in 552—that is, thirty-nine years after the accession, twenty-six after the death of Theodoric—Tejas, the successor of Totila, and the last of the Gothic kings, was totally defeated on the banks of the Sarnus by the combined forces of the Greeks and Italians.

Among the well-known letters of Cassiodorus, the prætorian prefect, we must now draw attention to two, which derive a peculiar value from the fact, that they are the only monuments which exist of the state of Venice during the domination of the Goths in the peninsula.[1] The first of these curious epistles records a

[1] Sartorius (*Essai sur l'Etat civil et politique des Peuples d'Italie sous le Gouvernement des Goths*, p. 297. Paris, 1811).

famine, which visited the islanders about the year 520, and from which it appears that they were relieved by the humane interposition of Theodoric, who not only furnished them, in their distress, with every kind of provisions, but permitted them to convert to their own use the supply of corn and wine, which they had collected, according to their annual custom, for the royal larder. The second epistle, which is, perhaps, the more important as well as the more remarkable of the two, was addressed in 523 to the Venetian tribunes, who were exhorted not to neglect the transmission of the annual supplies of wine, oil, and honey from the tributary towns of Istria to the royal palace of Ravenna.

In point of substance and style, this latter document exhibits a sense of power, subdued and kept in check by a love of literary distinction; and its tone, though in a few places slightly authoritative, is, generally speaking, that of solicitation and advice. It depicts, in gaudy and transparent hues, the beatific simplicity of the Venetians, whom the writer fancifully likens to waterfowl passing an amphibious existence among the lagoons of the Adriatic. And although, to say the truth, it sometimes shows an imperfect knowledge or, it may be, an elegant disregard of facts, the letter may be considered, on the whole, as a fair model and a valuable specimen of Gothic composition.[1] We cannot help sus-

[1] Compare the singular version which M. Daru has given of this letter in his *History of Venice* (i. 34) with those of Tiepolo (*Discorsi sulla Storia Veneta dal Signor Daru*, i. 25); Cuvier (*Recherches sur les Fossiles*, i. 71); Forfait (*Marine de Venise*, v. 213); Zendrini (*Memorie della Laguna di Venezia*, i. 4); Marin (*Commercio dei Veneziani*, i. 78);

pecting, however, that in giving publicity to a production which is certainly far too florid for a letter, far too vague and diffuse for a despatch, the vanity of the author outran the zeal of the magistrate, and that Cassiodorus was hurried by a fondness for rhetorical effect into the elaboration of a simple note, until the note became a long and graphic epistle.

It may be inferred, from the language which the prefect employs, that while the republic continued, under the Gothic domination, to enjoy her liberty and free institutions, her citizens tacitly acknowleged a claim, which they were too feeble and too wise to repudiate; and that, although no service was required from them beyond the periodical transmission in their flat vessels, of wine, oil, and other necessaries, to the royal kitchen, this gratuitous duty was mutually considered as a token of fealty and submission. It is not unlikely, however, that the Venetians were valued and employed by the Gothic princes as pilots and mariners, who delighted and excelled in the navigation of the narrow and winding channels of the lagoons; and while the defence of the frontiers of their extensive dominions engrossed the attention of Theodoric and his successors, they were not indisposed, perhaps, to accept the friendship and alliance of a small state, too poor to gratify their cupidity, too feeble to reward their ambition.

Yet, although the policy of the Goths toward the

Dandolo (lib. i. p. 88); Sansovino (*Venetia descritta*, lib. xiii. p. 528); Salverte (*Civilization—Venise*, p. 20). Why M. Daru should have garbled the letter, as he has to all appearance done, I am wholly at a loss to conceive.

Venetians seems to have been characterized by uniform moderation, the latter, sensible of their weakness, and jealous of their freedom, not unnaturally viewed their powerful neighbours with suspicion and dislike; and the republic watched with anxious solicitude and deep interest the progress of a war which broke out, shortly after the death of Theodoric, between his successors and the lieutenants of the Greek emperor. One instance, indeed, is on record, in which their zeal carried them so far as to take an active share in the operations. In 550, the eunuch Narses, the lieutenant of Justin II., whose headquarters were then at Ravenna, being desirous of effecting a junction with a large body of Lombard mercenaries whom he had received into his pay, and who were detained at Aquileia by an inundation, solicited the aid of the Venetians, whose transports readily conveyed that valuable reinforcement to its proper destination. Two churches—one to Saint Theodore, the other to the martyrs Menna and Geminian [1]—were soon afterwards erected at Rialto, on the Piazzetta, in commemoration of the service of the islanders, and as a token of the gratitude of Narses, by whose munificence Venice was placed in a position to indicate to future ages the origin and antiquity of her connection with the court of Constantinople—a connection which subsequently became so constant and so intimate.

After the death of King Tejas, the task of constituting

[1] Giacomo Diedo (*Storia di Venezia*, vol. i. p. 7); Blondus (*De Origine et Gestis Venetorum*, p. 1); Giannotti (*De Republica Venetorum*, p. 28); Sansovino (*Chronico Veneto*, p. 5); ibid. (*Venetia Descritta*, lib. ii. p. 109; and Sanudo (*Vite de Duchi di Venezia*, p. 408).

the Italian possessions of the Byzantine court into a vice-royalty or *exarchate*, devolved on the victorious general; and Narses, who became the first of the Greek exarchs of Ravenna, was represented in all the towns or cities which still revered the majesty of the purple, by a military *duke*, who was instructed to consider his authority subordinate, his conduct amenable, to the lieutenant of the emperor. The successor of Belisarius governed, protected, and oppressed the peninsula till the year 567, when Justin, alarmed by the murmurs and menaces of the Italians, gave the order for his recal, and sent Longinus to Ravenna in his stead. The late exarch retired to Naples, where it is supposed that he died in obscurity, if not in want. It would be unwise to place too implicit faith in the statement which imputed the fall of the general to his own misconduct. On the contrary, we are disposed to think that it might have been more clearly traced in the weak and irresolute character of Justin; and the notorious avarice of his wife Theodora; and we incline to the opinion that the failure or deficiency of supplies and recruits, owing to the mean and selfish policy of his employers, really left the exarch no choice between the loss and the oppression of his province. But whether the charges which were preferred against him were well founded or otherwise, it is certain that the sense of wrong rankled in the bosom of the fallen statesman. Nor was the soul of the favourite of Justinian superior to the study of revenge; for we read in the chronicles of those times that the invasion of the peninsula in the following year (568) by Alboin, King of the

Lombards, owed its origin, no less than its success, to the powerful intrigues and fatal resentment of the eunuch Narses.[1]

The Winili, or Lombards, seem to have derived their origin from the same source as the Vandals, who traced their native settlements in the distant and obscure region of Scandinavia. The new comers transfused into the land of their adoption their manners, their religion, and their dress; they professed the tenets of Arius, and acknowledged the principles of elective and constitutional monarchy. Their kings were chosen by acclamation, and crowned with military pomp. Thirty dukes and a large number of inferior nobles administered the offices of the state, and supported the dignity of the throne; and the power of this aristocracy, which in time of peace was almost unlimited, often reduced the prince to a cipher, and his crown to a bauble. As compared with that of the Goths, the Lombard dominion had a long duration; and during the two hundred and six years which elapsed from the accession of Alboin, their first,[2] to the deposition of Aistulph, their last king, that people gradually achieved the conquest of Tuscany, Piedmont, Friuli, the Tyrol, the Milanese, the coast of Genoa, Mantua, Parma, and Modena, as well as a large portion of the ecclesiastical states from Perugia to the Adriatic; and this ample territory was divided, by the prevailing system of feuds into duchies, marquisates, and principalities, which the nobles taught

[1] Bernardo Giustiniani (lib. vii. p. 73).

[2] I would not be understood to say the first king of the Lombards, for he was the tenth in the order of succession, but the first of the Lombard kings of Italy.

their retainers to till with the plough, to protect with the sword.

The republic, on her part, regarded not without fear and inquietude the rise of a new monarchy on the skirts of the lagoons; and while the Venetians affected to despise the manners and garb, they watched the progress and dreaded the power of the Lombards, who, as they emerged, under the successors of Alboin, from barbarism and obscurity, might not unnaturally form the ambitious design of adding the islands of the Adriatic to their dominion, and thus acquire possession of the commercial advantages which were at present enjoyed by the republic. For it was hardly to be supposed that the Lombards were wholly unacquainted with the laws of navigation, or with the use of ships, which might place them in a position to reduce to their sway a small and feeble state, separated from their own territories only by a narrow and terraqueous strait. And, moreover, the predatory visits of Lupus Duke of Friuli, who traversed the canals at low tide on horseback with his followers, and pillaged the churches of Heraclia, Equilo, and Grado,[1] soon afforded the Venetians sufficient proof that their insular situation was no protection against the nocturnal inroads of an active and vigilant enemy, and that, even if the barbarians were wanting in nautical knowledge, their equestrian skill supplied, to a great extent, that defect.

[1] Paulus Diaconus (*De Gestis Longobardorum*, p. 482); Filiasi (*Memorie Storiche*, v. 162); Dandolo (lib. vi. ch. 18); Crasso (*De Formâ Reip. Ven.* p. 14).

CHAPTER II.

TYRANNY OF THE TRIBUNES—CHANGE IN THE GOVERNMENT—ELECTION OF THE FIRST DOGE, PAOLO LUCA ANAFESTO, OF HERACLIA (MARCH 697)—AUTHORITY OF THE DOGE—THE REIGN OF ANAFESTO (697-717)—CONCLUDES A PEACE WITH THE LOMBARDS—IS SUCCEEDED BY MARCELLO TEGALIANO—ORLEO ORSO, DOGE (726-37)—HE ASSISTS THE GREEK EXARCH OF RAVENNA IN THE RECOVERY OF RAVENNA—HIS TYRANNY AND VIOLENT DEATH (737)—ANOTHER CHANGE IN THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT—APPOINTMENT OF THE MAESTRI DELLA MILIZIA—THE NATURE OF THE NEW OFFICE—DOMENIGO SELVO, FIRST MASTER (737-8)—FELICE CORNICOLA—DIODATO ORSO—GIULIANO CEPARIO—GIO. FABRIZIO ZIANI—SUCCESSIVE MASTERS OF THE HORSE (738-41)—REVIVAL OF THE DUCAL OFFICE IN FAVOUR OF DIODATO, THE SON OF ORLEO ORSO (742)—TRAGICAL END OF DIODATO—GALLA CATANIO USURPS THE DOGATE—HE IS DEPOSED AND PUT TO DEATH (756)—DOMENIGO MONEGARO, DOGE (756-64)—HIS BAD ADMINISTRATION—HIS EXCESSES TERMINATE IN HIS ASSASSINATION BY A MOB—MAURIZIO GALBAIO, DOGE (764-87)—THE VIRTUOUS CHARACTER OF THAT PRINCE, AND HIS LONG AND HAPPY REIGN—MAURIZIO IS INVITED TO ASSOCIATE HIS SON GIOVANNI (778)—CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PRINCIPLE OF ASSOCIATION—CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE OFFICE, POWER, AND COSTUME OF THE EARLY DOGES—THE EXCUSATI DEL DUCATO OR DUCAL BODY-GUARD.

The depredations of the Lombards of Friuli, which grew in the course of time bolder and more systematic in their character, as well as more frequent in their occurrence, certainly showed a strong love of rapine and appetite for plunder; they also indicated great weakness on the part of the Venetian government. Yet that weakness proceeded less from the want than from the division of strength.

The factions, by which the vain and grasping ambition of the tribunes tore and distracted Venice at this period, had become a monstrous political and constitutional evil. They sapped the national prosperity; they impoverished and scandalised the church; they obstructed trade and navigation; they made dreadful havoc on public and private property; they banished all repose and security; and thoughtful and prudent men foresaw in their continuance nothing less than the ruin of the commonwealth. Now, it might be said that the incursions of Duke Lupus were attended, at least, by one beneficial result: for they afforded those who might be disposed to institute reforms, an admirable ground for bringing the matter more closely and immediately under the public observation; and in the sitting of the 9th March, 697, Christoforo, patriarch of Grado, actually laid before the Arrengo a scheme which he had formed for changing the existing system of government, and abolishing without more delay a tyranny which oppressed, while it failed to protect, the nation.[1] The scheme of the metropolitan was almost unanimously adopted; its effect was to call upon the tribunes to abdicate the sovereignty, and to elect in their place a magistrate (*Capo dei Tribuni*) in whose person the people might vest an undivided authority. His title was to be Doge. His office was to be for life. In him were to be concentrated the power and the majesty of the republic, of which he was to be considered the civil, military, and ecclesiastical chief. He was to preside over the synod, as well as the Arrengo, either of which it was

[1] Giacomo Diedo (lib. i. p. 9); Crasso (*De Formâ Ven. Reip.* p. 13).

competent for his serenity to convoke or dissolve at pleasure; merely spiritual matters of a minor nature were alone, in future, to be intrusted to the clergy; and all acts of convocations, the ordination of a priest or deacon, the election and consecration of a patriarch or bishop, were to be accounted null and void, unless they had received the sanction of the doge.[1] In fact, the latter became virtually, and in all material respects, the sovereign of Venice, the tribunes having now no higher function than the ministry of his will; and it was only in matters of general or momentous concern, that the republic expected her first magistrate to seek the concurrence or advice of the national convention.

After some deliberation, the choice of the people fell on Paolo Luca Anafesto,[2] a native of Heraclia, and a citizen of high standing in the commune; and Anafesto, having been conducted to a chair of state, which had been prepared for him in the local church, was solemnly invested by the patriarch of Grado with a crown of gold and a sceptre of ivory.[2] (March, 697.)

With regard to the prerogative of peace and war, it appears that, in the original institution of the ducal office and title, this was left, by accident or design, an open question. But it is probable that a free and ignorant

[1] Sandi (vol. i. lib. i.); Marin (vol. i. lib. iii.); Tentori (vol. iii. ch.5); Filiasi (vol. v. ch. 11); Paolo Morosini (*Storia di Venezia*, lib. ii. p. 29-30); G. Contarini (*De Rep. Ven.* lib. ii. p. 23); Galibert (ch. 3, p.20-21).

[2] Daru tells us that Anafesto was chosen by twelve electors, members of the noble houses of Contarini, Morosini, Badoer, Tiepolo, Michieli, Sanudo, Gradenigo, Faliero, Memo, Dandolo, Polani, and Barozzi. But he does not mention the source from which he obtained this information; nor can I offer any suggestion on the subject.

[3] Pietro Giustiniani (*Historie Venetiane*, lib. i. p. 5).

people, as yet incapable of forming a just estimate of a new system, and unconscious of the rapid and insidious growth of despotism, were easily induced to leave in the hands of the chief magistrate a discretionary power in this respect; and we shall have occasion to observe that the early doges of Venice not only decided the doubtful point in their own favour, but, in frequent instances, prostituted to purposes of private gain or personal revenge, the authority which they merely held in trust for the public advantage.[1]

The Doge Anafesto retained the direction of public affairs from 697 to 717; and during that period he was unremitting in his attention to the duties of his high and respectable office. By his energy or tact, the intestine discord, by which his country had suffered so much and so long, was pacified or quelled; the Equilese, especially, who had risen, it appears, in open revolt, and refused to pay their proportion, or to discharge their

[1] The Badoeri, whose power was of greater extent and of longer duration than that of any other family in Venice, though they might pretend, on occasion, to govern solely in the name of the people, were, in truth, autocrats, since they obeyed, in general, no other law than their own will; and the house of Angelo Participazio swayed the ivory sceptre during an almost uninterrupted period of seventy-four years. Their successors, the Sanudi and Orseoli, were scarcely less absolute, acknowledging no limit to their sovereign authority, but the faint outline of a constitution; and it is only from the middle of the eleventh century that we must date the gradual decline of the dogate, the gradual rise of that power which closed the doors of the Great Council, and established, in the end, the Inquisition of State. Yet Tiepolo scouts the idea of a Venetian monarchy. Compare his views (*Discorsi*, vol. i. p. 119 *et seq.*) with those of Daru (vol. i. p. 49, 50); Galibert (*Hist. de Ven.* ch. iii. p. 20 *et seq.*); Sandi (vol. i. lib, i. art. 2.); and all the other writers quoted above.

arrears, of tithes, were persuaded by the force, which might compel them, to return to obedience; and the King of the Lombards, who, for a considerable period, had regarded the republic with the eye, and treated her with the insolence, of a conqueror, now condescended to ratify, while he promised to fulfil, a treaty, assigning to the Venetians the whole of the territory lying between the greater and the lesser Piave, empowering the republic to erect boundary-lines, and prohibiting either of the contracting parties from building a stronghold within ten miles of those lines.[1]

At the same time, the long reign of Anafesto, which extended over a space of twenty years, indicated the vacillating state of the public mind of Venice, still unprepared, as it seemed, to determine what form of government was most closely adapted to the nature of the country, and the character of the people. Democracy had been a natural, almost an intuitive tendency: we may regard monarchy as an equally natural experiment.

Anafesto died in 717; he was succeeded by his Master of the Horse, who, we have reason to suspect, was simply the captain of the *Excusati*, or ducal body-guard, Marcello Tagliano by name. The latter reigned only nine years; and he left a reputation for the possession and exercise of useful abilities. It was not till the later part of the career of Orleo Orso, third doge, who replaced Tagliano in 726, that the people had an opportunity of

[1] Sandi (vol. i. p. 18); Dandolo (lib. vii. ch. i.); Sanudo (*Vite de Ducki*, p. 443); Sabellico (*Rev. Ven.* dec. i. p. 27).

testing the real value of the great change, which they had effected in their political system.

In the earlier portion of his administration, Orso, who proved himself of an active and enterprising character, occupied his leisure in familiarizing the Venetian youth with the use, and training them to the exercise, of arms; they were also indebted to him for the establishment of schools of *artillery*, where they might acquire a knowledge of the mode of conducting the operations of a siege, and of managing projectile engines and batteries; and according to some, it is to him that we should assign the first institution of the Excusati de Ducato, or ducal militia, whose function it was to guard the precincts and interior of the palace, and to attend the chief magistrate on all occasions of public solemnity. Otherwise, the earlier part of the reign of Orso was wholly devoid of incident, and uniformly tranquil; and everything appeared to be favourable to the general impression, that he would end his days, like his two predecessors, in honour and peace, when an incident occurred, which changed altogether the aspect of affairs.

In 735, Ravenna, which the successors of Narses still selected as their place of residence, and as the seat of their viceregal government, fell into the hands of the Lombards, under Luitprand their king, who confided the defence and preservation of the conquest to his nephew Ildeprand, and to Perideus, duke of Vicenza.[1] The exarch, Paul Eutychius, only finding safety in flight,

[1] Saint Marc (*Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire d'Italie*, vol. i. p. 530).

sought a temporary shelter in the neighbouring lagoon; the illustrious fugitive was kindly and hospitably received by the chief magistrate of the Venetians; and his application to Orso for assistance was promptly seconded by a letter from the Roman pontiff, who earnestly implored the republic to co-operate with Eutychius in recovering Ravenna from the Lombards.[1] The arrival of a stranger of distinction at Venice was, it is generally believed, an event unparalleled in the annals of the commonwealth; and, from the important character of the object which he had in view in directing his steps toward the lagoon, the visit of the exarch of Ravenna was certainly calculated, in every way, to give a new turn to men's thoughts. Personally, the successor of Marcello Tagliano was ambitious of distinction, impatient of repose; the prospect which was now opening, as he imagined, before him, seemed to afford him an admirable opportunity of acquiring a high reputation among his fellow-citizens, of which his uneventful reign had theretofore excluded the possibility; and the doge determined to use all his influence in prevailing on the republic to enlist herself in the cause of Eutychius and the Holy See. The epistle of Gregory the Third, which was couched in terms calculated to flatter the pride of a rising, yet obscure, state, was read by Orso aloud in the presence of the popular assembly; his serenity strongly advocated a compliance with the joint request of the pope and the exarch; and his appeal

[1] Crasso (*De Formâ Reip. Ven.* p. 15); G. Diedo (vol. i. pp. 11, 12); Dandolo (lib. vii. ch. iii.); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 444); Verus (*Res Venetæ*, lib. i. pp. 6, 7); Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 535).

to the nation was powerfully supported by the natural and growing uneasiness with which the Venetians regarded the preponderant power of the Lombard kings. The result was that, after due and becoming deliberation, the Arrengo decided on espousing the just pretensions of Eutychius. In taking this bold and, we may say, hazardous step—a step by which it was exceedingly likely that they would draw down on their heads the vengeance of a neighbouring power and a nominal ally—there can be no doubt that the islanders were chiefly actuated by a desire to ingratiate themselves with the court, of which the exarch was the representative; a people, wise in their generation, knew that it was of the utmost importance to a trading community, to whom commerce and industry were scarcely less necessary than life itself, to cultivate the friendship of the masters of Constantinople and the Euxine; and it may be observed that, in this instance, as indeed in aftertimes, the republic dared to risk her present existence for the sake of her future welfare, and to consider the good will of the kings of Italy secondary to the good will of the Byzantine court. The fishermen of Rialto played, in truth, for a great stake, and they won it.

In the mean time, Luitprand, the Lombard king, having left a numerous garrison in Ravenna, as we have already mentioned, under the joint charge of his nephew and the Duke of Vicenza,[1] had drawn off his troops from that place, and lay, at present, encamped at some distance. The moment was favourable, therefore, to the pro-

[1] B. Giustiniani (lib. x. pp. 115,116); Crasso (*De For. R. V.* p. 14).

secution of the enterprize. Yet the prudent doge determined to proceed with wary steps, and to have recourse to a stratagem. The design of Orso consisted in circulating a report, that Eutychius had failed in carrying his object, and, at the same time, in favouring a supposition that the small fleet, which was soon in course of preparation in the dockyard of Venice, was destined shortly to sail on an expedition to the East;[1] while, in reality, the exarch proceeded to Imola, with the intention of raising an auxiliary corps, and the doge was exerting every means in his power to be in readiness, on a given night, to act in concert with his new ally before the walls of Ravenna. The feint was ingenious and successful: at the same time that a few troops, under Eutychius, invested Ravenna on the land, a small squadron, under the doge, blockaded Classis on the sea;[2] and the Lombards, doubtful how to act, or in which direction to turn their arms, situated as they were between two foes, found it necessary, after a brief, though manful, resistance, in which Perideus fell, and Ildeprand was taken prisoner, to surrender, and evacuate the city. The exarch was immediately reinstated in his viceroyalty; the anger of the Lombard king was mollified, we learn, by the free release of his nephew; and the services of Orso were rewarded by the Byzantine

[1] Verus (*Res. Ven.*, lib. i. p. 7); Daru (vol. i. p. 56-7); Galibert (ch. iii. p. 22); Crasso (*De F. R. V.*, p. 14); B. Giustiniani (lib. x. p. 115).

[2] Ravenna is divided into two parts: that on the side of the land is properly so called; the part which lies toward the harbour is designated *Classis*.

court with the honorary title of Hypatos, or imperial consul.

Thus, then, the earliest undertaking, the first achievement of the Venetians, had been attended by complete success; and the fortunate issue of the late operation was foolishly ascribed by his family and kindred to the personal valour and address of the doge himself. The latter was too weak to resist the voice of flattery: he was flushed and elated beyond measure by the pride and joy of victory; and the extravagant praises, which proclaimed him a hero, not unnaturally led him to believe that he might be a tyrant. It was consequently not long before the republic discovered that she had only acquired glory and reputation at the expense of happiness and liberty; and, although the Venetians might be disposed to extend a certain measure of indulgence to an abuse which they had not anticipated, they soon found it impossible to tolerate the successive encroachments of Orso on those rights which they had been always taught to consider as peculiarly the rights of the people. A civil war was the consequence; and during that ominous struggle, which is said to have lasted nearly two years, the Heraclians zealously supported their illustrious townsman in a course of policy, which seemed to have as its aim nothing less than the concentration of the whole power of the state in the person of a single individual. Ultimately, however, the strength of Heraclia was overmatched, or her resources were exhausted: the popular party gained the ascendency; and in a general insurrection of the multitude, the palace was forced, and the doge was assassinated. (737.)

It is not easy to determine how far the various factions in Venice viewed the fate of Orso [1] with horror or indignation; but it is natural to imagine, that the rage which had maddened and convulsed the reasoning faculties of the people, subsided gradually into a mixed feeling of grief and regret. The malignant and deep-rooted hatred of those few, to whom the late doge might have rendered himself in any way obnoxious, might certainly impart to such a sentiment a strong tincture of bitterness, or even chequer it with a vein of selfish satisfaction; but the multitude are susceptible of quick emotions: their passions, which are easily provoked, are also easily assuaged; and we may rationally conclude that those who partook most, exulted least, in the crime.

A change, or at least a modification, in the actual form of government was, however, the thing now contemplated and desired. A new people, strongly imbued with the love of freedom and the hatred of oppression, wished to create a chasm between the past and the future, to draw a veil, as it were, over the loathsome spectacle which had so recently shown the violence of party-spirit. After a few years' experience, not only the arbitrary nature and the unlimited duration of the ducal authority, but the very title of doge, had grown offensive in their eyes. And as it appeared that the object which they had in view, could only be accomplished by a relapse to the

[1] Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 535) is disposed to assign to Orleo Orso the same origin as the house of Danlo or Dandolo. This is the only place where I have been able to find the slightest reference to his extraction or family.

system of annual elections, they decided in Arrengo, on investing with supreme power, for the term of one year, an officer of high rank, who had been long known under the title of Master of the Horse, and who, as commander of the Excusati, or ducal body-guard, was probably considered the second citizen of the republic. The popular choice fell on Domenigo Selvo, surnamed *Lioni*,[1] a Malamoccese; and on the expiration of a twelvemonth, Selvo was succeeded by Félice Cornicola, a native of the same city (738).

The character of Cornicola was mild and unassuming; and the justness and moderation of his rule ultimately gained him so much influence and good will among his fellow-citizens, that he prevailed on them to rescind the sentence of perpetual exile which, during the revolution of 737, had been pronounced against Diodato Orso, the late döge's son. In the same year Cornicola resigned his functions; Diodato, whose popularity had greatly increased since his recal, was chosen to succeed him (739). Nor did the son of the Doge Orso give the electors reason to regret their preference. But his family and adherents were, at the same time, unsuccessful in their attempts to procure his re-election; and, on the expiration of the twelfth month, the master vacated his seat in favour of Giuliano Ceparío (740), whose zeal and success in achieving the second recovery of Ravenna from the Lombards, were rewarded, as on a previous occasion, by the title of imperial consul. The successor of Ceparío, that is, the fifth of the Masters of the Horse,

[1] Navagiero (*Storia Veneziana*, p. 935).

was Giovanni Fabrizio Ziani, who was called to the magisterial chair in 741. History has omitted to record the precise nature of the excesses, which drew on the head of Ziani the weight of popular vengeance; but we are told that, before the termination of his year of office, the multitude rose in open revolt, tore out the eyes[1] of their magistrate, and drove him into exile; while the institution, to which his tyrannical conduct had attached so much odium, was formally abolished, and the dogate was restored in the person of Diodato Orso, who was invested with his father's sceptre in the new palace at Malamocco (742).[2] To the reign of Orso II., which embraced a period of thirteen years, three events only are assigned—the renewal of the treaty, which Anafesto had concluded about 700 with the King of the Lombards; an earthquake, which deluged the islands; and a conspiracy, which terminated the life of the doge.

The election of Orso afforded a proof of the zeal, affection, and influence of the family, to which he belonged; it also served to excite the jealous enmity of his disappointed rivals, among whom Galla Catanio, the son of the tribune of Malamocco, was the most deserving of notice, and had been the most confident of success.[3] Catanio was too firm of purpose and too fond of power to abandon, without a struggle, his claim to the throne: nor was he generous enough to forgive a more fortunate

[1] A *fashion*, which they appear to have borrowed from the Greeks.

[2] B. Giustiniani (lib. xii. p. 119).

[3] Filiasi (vol. v. p. 24); Dandolo (lib. vii. ch. 9); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 446); Sabellico (dec. i. pp. 21-2); B. Giustiniani (lib. xi. pp. 124-5).

competitor; and so soon as he learnt that Diodato had been actually elected, he began to revolve in his mind how he should remove the obstacle which lay in the path of his ambition, by getting rid of the unsuspecting doge. His plans were soon formed, indeed; but their execution was deferred, until a fitting opportunity presented itself. The conspirator, however, watched and waited in vain. No suitable occasion for carrying his views into effect occurred; and Catanio ultimately gained his nefarious object only by construing a measure of precaution on the part of Orso into an emblem of tyranny. The island of Brondolo, situate between Chiozza and the mouth of the Adige, had for some time been regarded by his serenity as a point, where the republic might expect, and must repel, an invasion from without; he determined to strengthen the important position; and the progress of the fortifications, which rapidly grew under his eye, was observed by Catanio with secret satisfaction and feigned distrust. A report was speedily circulated, that the very man, who affected a desire to secure, harboured an infamous project for destroying, Venetian freedom; and that the patriotism, which the people might be disposed to admire, was nothing more than a mask, which served to disguise the ambitious designs of a crafty tyrant.[1] Nor, strange as it may seem, was this interpretation of the policy and plans of the doge disbelieved by the majority; and one day, as Diodato was surveying the works at Brondolo, he was

[1] G. Diedo (lib. i. p. 15); Galibert (ch. iii. p. 34); Bernardo Giustiniani (lib. xi. p. 125).

surprised and cruelly butchered by the conspirators, who hastily returned to Malamocco, and proclaimed their leader Doge of Venice (755).[1]

The same audacious and unprincipled love of power which had led Catanio to usurp, led him also to abuse, an authority, which now seemed to recognise no other limit than the will of the prince and the patience of the people; an absolute sovereign needed no provocation, and knew no restraint; and during a brief and odious career of fourteen months, his shameless excesses excited the mingled dread and aversion of all classes of his unfortunate subjects. On the expiration of that period, however, the people rebelled against their government, seized the person of the tyrant, tore out his eyes, and drove him into banishment. Domenigo Monegaro, or Memo,[2] another citizen of Malamocco, was chosen as his successor; and the prudence of the national assembly—a prudence taught by sad experience—assigned to the new doge a privy council of two members, whose sanction and signature were pronounced necessary, before any public act could become valid. These magistrates, whose authority was designed to operate as a check on the ducal prerogative, were of tribunitial rank: their names were Candian Candiano and Angelo Badoer; the latter of whom was gastaldo, or tribune of Rialto. But the fierce and intractable character of Monegaro rendered the innovation utterly useless; and during a reign of eight years, he obeyed without reserve the dictates of a sensual and ferocious disposition. Judicial

[1] B. Giustiniani, *ut suprâ.* [2] Daru (vol. vi. p. 81).

sentences and decisions were regulated or reversed at his pleasure or caprice; the laws and the constitution were set at nought; the honour of women and virgins was treated with outrage; the social and political rights of the citizens were violated; even the ties of friendship and blood, which it was most clearly the interest of Monegaro to cherish and respect, he broke or forgot in the intoxication of power; and the efforts of the privy council to curb or moderate his excesses, were uniformly ineffectual. But the crimes and follies of the doge recoiled, in the end, on his own head; and in the eighth year of his odious reign, the tyrant was massacred within the precincts of his own palace, by the insurgent multitude (764).

Monegaro was succeeded by Maurizio Galbaio or Calbani, of Heraclia, whose wise moderation formed a proud and pleasing contrast to the savage and intractable ferocity of his immediate predecessors. And the nation, which had learnt to love and esteem the citizen of Heraclia, had soon leisure to admire the just and temperate policy of the Doge of Venice, who neither forgot nor contemned, in a public capacity, the virtues which had distinguished and adorned a private station.

Two years after the accession of Galbaio, a convocation of the clergy was held, in which it was resolved that, with the sanction and concurrence of his serenity, the islands of Rialto, Gemine, Luprio, Dorsoduro, and Olivolo, which had theretofore been incorporated with the bishopric of Malamocco, should be withdrawn from that exclusive jurisdiction, and constituted into a sepa-

rate and independent see. The doge was far from offering any objection to the proposed change; and he evinced his anxiety to reconcile party differences by nominating Obelalto di Antenori, the son of the tribune of Malamocco, and the nephew of the tribune of Equilo, first bishop of *Olivolo* (766).

It is difficult to form a correct view of the reign of Maurizio Galbaio, which extended over a period of three-and-twenty years; the voluminous records, which offer such ample materials to the modern historian, afford very slight assistance in an inquiry into the annals of that epoch, which witnessed the growth and gradual development of oligarchic principles in Venice; and although Filiasi and Marin have brought under notice a large number of antient and curious manuscripts, written, in many cases, before the events they treated of had faded into traditions, there are none which throw much light on the long reign of Galbaio.

During the fourteen years, which elapsed from the death of Monegaro, however, his successor continued to unite under his mild and paternal sway a happy and thriving community of merchants, artificers, mechanics, and fishermen; during that brief but tranquil interval, the intestine feuds, which had been so long a burden and reproach to the nation at large, were pacified or quelled; and commerce and navigation, which had languished during the feeble and turbulent reigns of Ziani, Catanio, and Monegaro, revived under the wise and vigorous administration of Maurizio Galbaio. A fresh impulse was given, in truth, to public affairs; civil dissension

ceased, at last, to exercise a baleful influence over the commune; and the fierce spirit of partisanship, which had tainted the national mind and absorbed the national energy, gave place, in the new order of things, to the gentle and beneficent spirit of peace and concord. Thus, after a long season of trouble and shame, the Venetians were once more governed by a virtuous and moderate prince, who was, on his part, the ruler of a people anxious to afford him a proof of their gratitude and love. It was the wish of the republic to do especial honour to a man, who displayed such constant and earnest solicitude for the national welfare, and who showed such untiring and, as it might seem, disinterested zeal in the service of his country; and in 778, Giovanni Galbaio, the doge's only son, was admitted to a share in the sovereignty, and invited by the legislature to divide with his father the power, which the latter had used so well.

Without finding any corresponding advantages, it is easy to discover many objectionable features in the custom, which had been thus originated, of associating the son with the father in the chief authority. In the first place, it was a custom which clearly tended, to a large extent, to endanger public order and promote civil discord. Secondly, that unity of purpose and action, which it had been the leading aim of the men of 697 to establish, the system of association was calculated in every way to destroy. Thirdly, while it afforded the reigning house still ampler means, than at present, of gratifying private pique or personal ambition, it induced the republic to conceive a distaste for a form of government, which in

itself seemed tolerably well adapted to her character and wants. Besides, it was exceedingly probable that the precedent, which had been thus furnished by popular enthusiasm, would be quoted and abused by succeeding doges, who, without possessing the same moderation, might naturally desire to enjoy the same privilege, as Maurizio Galbaio; and the prince who shared the throne, might expect to share also the fate, of a tyrant. For the multitude seldom pause to draw fine distinctions, or to dispense with an even hand, either penalties or rewards; the man who was thought to be cognizant of the designs of a parent or a kinsman, was presumed to be the accomplice of his crimes and excesses; and as he participated in the honour of governing, it was considered but fair that he should participate in the consequence of governing ill.

The evils of the new institution did not manifest themselves, however, during the lifetime of Maurizio, who checked and discountenanced any attempt on the part of Giovanni, to exceed the just limits of his authority. But in 787 the elder Galbaio died, leaving the sole government of the republic in the hands of his son; and the latter, who proved himself in reality the very reverse of his venerable and illustrious parent in point of character, soon showed his country how unwisely and imprudently she had acted in recompensing virtue by affording a precedent for vice.

We shall close the present chapter with a few observations on a point, which has hitherto attracted less atten-

tion, than it appears to deserve, at the hands of historians. The republic, when she had invested her doge with the character and authority of a sovereign, conceived a natural desire to encircle his person with the symbols of royalty. By her suggestion or approval, the successors of Anafesto had gradually assumed the sword of state, the waxen tapers, the canopy, and the trumpets, the latter of which might be designed to signify his presence or approach to the curious multitude. The costume of his Serenity was, if we may credit Filiasi, splendid and sumptuous in the extreme. His doublet and robe were purple and cloth of gold; the mantle, which covered his shoulders, was bordered with ermine or sable. The berretta, or ducal bonnet, which, as we have before observed, is said to have borne a close resemblance to the coronet worn by the kings of ancient Phrygia, was composed of rich materials, and surmounted by a plain golden crown; the throne was an affectation of the curule chair; and, as well as the sceptre, the emblem of power, it attested the trade of the merchant, and the skill of the sculptor, in ivory.[1]

An organized body of militia, termed the *Excusati del Ducato*,[2] whose origin was probably coeval with the dogate itself, attended the first magistrate on all occasions of public solemnity; they formed his retinue and

[1] Filiasi (vol. v. pp. 180-90, 301), who quotes Marco Foscarini (*Letteratura Veneziana*), Zanetti (*Dissertazione sulla Berretta Ducale*), and a MS. in the Vatican, of the eleventh century. See also Pietro Giustiniani (lib. i. p 5).

[2] They afterwards assumed the designation of Scudieri, shield-bearers, or esquires of the body to the doge.

guard of honour. The numbers of the Excusati exceeded not two hundred,[1] one hundred and thirty of whom were ordinarily on duty in the interior of the palace; and their division into *Maggiori* and *Minori* implied a claim to franchises and privileges, larger or less, including a provision for the means of subsistence, a partial exemption from the payment of tithes, and a grant of land.[2]

In the first days of the republic the doges rose early, heard mass in their private chapel, and afterwards proceeded to discharge their magisterial functions. Accompanied by their notary, who was generally a churchman, they frequently presided at the sessions of the civil and criminal tribunals, which used to be held, like those of the Romans and Lombards, under the open sky. From time to time, they were in the habit of paying visits of inspection and inquiry to the various islands, which lay in a circle round Malamocco, the capital, in order that they might check abuses, and prevent any arbitrary stretches of authority on the part of the judge or gastaldo. And when the fulfilment of his multifarious duties admitted relaxation and mental repose, his Serenity took gondola, and proceeded, with a select retinue, to seek the diversion of the chase in the woods of Loredo.

Filiasi has found much to admire in the modest and artless eloquence of the Venetian advocate in the olden time—an eloquence which declined the borrowed aid of

[1] Mazorbo furnished twenty-three; Murano, forty-four; the priory of Lovoli, nineteen; Torcello, nine; Costanziaco, nineteen; and Luprio, nine. Of the remainder we have no account. See Sansovino (lib. vi. p. 242); Filiasi (vol. v. p. 180).

[2] Sabellico (vol. i. p. 59); Dandolo (lib. 8. ch. 5).

sophistry and logic—as well as in the incorruptible integrity of the magistrate, who supplied, by his honest and impartial administration of justice, the defects of a scanty and, probably, unwritten code; and he also reflects with satisfaction, not unmixed with pride, on the ancient simplicity of the laws, and the virtuous contempt of his ancestors for the flowers and subtleties of rhetoric, the fondness of which distinguished and, in his opinion, disfigured other forums. We confess, on our part, that in treating this obscure and interesting subject, the Count occasionally stretches the point of our belief, and that we should sometimes agree with him against our better judgment; but we naturally conclude that, at a period when the legal and legislative systems were less elaborate and abstruse, the expounders of those systems were less numerous and less corrupt.

Prior to the institution of the dogate, the Venetian islands may be considered as having formed a federative state, united by the memory of a common origin, the sense of a common interest, and the fear of a common danger; the Arrengo, which met, at irregular intervals, to deliberate on matters of public concern, was too numerous and too schismatical to exercise immediate control over the nation; and each island was consequently governed, in the name of the people, by a gastaldo, or tribune, whose power, nominally limited, was virtually absolute. This form of administration lasted, as we have remarked in another place, nearly two centuries and a half, during which period Venice passed through a cruel ordeal of anarchy, oppression, and bloodshed. The tri-

bunes conspired against each other: the people rebelled against the tribunes. Family rose against family, sect against sect; and the spirit of partisanship soon grew stronger than the spirit of patriotism. For every man was less a Venetian than he was an Heraclian or an Equilese; and he accounted it less disgraceful to betray his country, than to desert his faction. In spite, however, of its feeble and despotic nature, the power of the gastaldi appears to have flourished till the close of the seventh century, since the first measure tending to impair their influence in any marked degree, was adopted only in 697, in which year, the people, thinking perhaps that it was less difficult to bear, more easy to punish, the tyranny of one, than the tyranny of many, assembled at Heraclia on the invitation of the patriarch of Grado, and elected Paolo Luca Anafesto, a citizen of that place, chief of the tribunes, and doge of Venice.

How, before the time of Anafesto, the Venetians had supported the dignity, and recompensed the exertions, of their magistrates, we have no means of judging; but we learn that, subsequently to 697, it was usual for each landlord and householder in Venice to set apart, for the use of the state, the tithe of his income; and this contribution consisting, if in kind, of honey, oil, wine, salt, fish, poultry, and other useful commodities, was consigned to the ducal fisc, which formed, in that primitive age, the only public treasury. The revenue which the chief magistrate derived from the payment of tithes, was, however, scanty and precarious; the citizens often neglected to discharge, the early doges sometimes felt

it injudicious, sometimes they found it impracticable, to enforce, the demands of the assessors; and they were consequently under the necessity of having recourse to a private and monopolizing trade in time of peace, a forced or voluntary loan in time of war. The latter was, however, a rare contingency, the Venetians having soon discovered that it was imperative on a mercantile community to show a friendly and placable spirit in their intercourse with strangers: nor were the islanders unsuccessful, in general, in maintaining amicable relations with the Lombard kings, the free towns on the Adriatic, and the petty princes of Dalmatia and Croatia.

We are also led to believe that, in order to support and augment the revenue, fiscal officers, appointed and paid by the doge, were stationed at the mouths of the various rivers, which empty their waters into the Gulf of Venice above Brondolo, with a view to the levy of a small but permanent tax on all vessels whatever (excepting such as were known to belong to his Serenity) which traded between the ports of the lagoon and those of the mainland. Moreover, each island was required to provide a fixed number of barks and gondoliers for the service of the doge, who employed them in the transport of merchandize, or as a means of conveyance, whenever he might feel disposed to hunt in the Loredan, or to proceed on a visit of ceremony to the more remote parts of his insular dominions.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHARACTER OF GIOVANNI GALBAIO—HIS EXCESSES—ASSOCIATION OF HIS SON MAURIZIO (796)—MURDER OF THE PATRIARCH OF GRADO—THE DEED CREATES A PROFOUND SENSATION THROUGHOUT VENICE—CONSPIRACY OF THE ANTENORI AND OTHERS AGAINST THE GALBAII—VENICE BECOMES THE SCENE OF A CIVIL WAR—THE ANTENORI FACTION INVOKE THE AID OF THE COURT OF FRANCE—BANISHMENT OF THE GALBAII, AND ELEVATION OF OBELERIO DI ANTENORI TO THE THRONE (804)—OBELERIO ASSOCIATES HIS BROTHER BEATO—INTERNAL DISSENSIONS—DESTRUCTION OF HERACLIA—THE VENETIANS CO-OPERATE WITH THE GREEKS IN THE SIEGE OF COMMACHIO—FAILURE OF THAT UNDERTAKING—FIRST VENETIAN EMBASSY TO CONSTANTINOPLE—PRIVATE DISSENSIONS IN THE FAMILY OF ANTENORI—TO PRESERVE THE BALANCE OF POWER OBELERIO ASSOCIATES HIS YOUNGEST BROTHER VALENTINO (808)—CHARLEMAGNE, ABOUT TO ENGAGE IN A WAR WITH THE GREEKS, SOLICITS THE ASSISTANCE OF THE REPUBLIC—THE VENETIANS DECLINE TO ACCEDE TO HIS PROPOSAL OF CO-OPERATION—EXILE OF THE ANTENORI—THE EMPEROR DECLARES WAR AGAINST VENICE—HIS SON PEPIN ATTACKS THE ISLANDS WITH A FLEET COMPOSED OF FRENCH AND LOMBARDS—HE RECEIVES A COMPLETE DISCOMFITURE (809)—ANGELO BADOER, DOGE (809-827)—HIS LONG AND PEACEFUL REIGN—ASSOCIATES SUCCESSIVELY HIS SONS GIOVANNI AND GIUSTINIANI—GIUSTINIANI BADOER, DOGE (827-29)—ASSOCIATES HIS BROTHER GIOVANNI—TRANSLATION OF THE BODY OF SAINT MARK FROM ALEXANDRIA (829)—SAINT MARK BECOMES THE PATRON SAINT OF THE REPUBLIC—ON THE DEATH OF GIUSTINIANI, GIOV. BADOER REIGNS ALONE (829-36)—RETURN OF THE EXILE OBELERIO TO VENICE—HIS CONSPIRACY, CAPTURE, AND EXECUTION—DESTRUCTION OF MALAMOCCO—DEPOSITION OF GIOV. BADOER—PIETRO TRADENIGO, DOGE (836-64)—HIS LONG AND EVENTFUL REIGN—HIS TRAGICAL END—ORSO, THE GRANDSON OF ANGELO BADOER, IS NAMED HIS SUCCESSOR—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

GIOVANNI GALBAIO possessed not that wisdom and moderation, which had distinguished, in so marked a

degree, the late doge his father; and a systematic course of tyranny and gross misconduct gradually estranged from him the affections of the people, while it forfeited the rich bequest, which the venerable Maurice had left his son, in the love and good will of a nation. Galbaio II. was licentious, profligate, and cruel; haughty and overbearing in disposition, in temper hasty and vehement; and while he wanted that commanding and transcendent genius which of bad men sometimes makes great princes, he was destitute of the gentler virtues, by which men of moderate views and capacity gain the confidence and favour of their fellow-citizens. In other respects, the doge was fond of power, yet not jealous of a rival; eager to govern, yet not bent on governing alone; arbitrary in exercising authority, not selfish in engrossing it.

The odious and, unhappily, long reign of Galbaio recalled to memory the dark days of Monegaro, Galla, and Fabrizio Ziani, the Nadir of the national glory and prosperity. Again the citizens were exposed to robbery and rapine, their female kindred to dishonour and insult. Justice was openly bought and sold; corruption and perjury were general. Magistrates were bribed, witnesses suborned; trifles were construed at pleasure into faults, faults were magnified in like manner into crimes; and the doge and his satellites had recourse to the most tyrannical and arbitrary measures as a means of indulging their cupidity or caprice, while they plunged, without reserve, into every wild excess, which afforded gratification to their libidinous appetite.[1] The wealthy and the

[1] The readers of Daru will hardly attach credit to me, if I do not

beautiful might save their innocence, by the sacrifice of their fortune or their honour; but an ignominious fate awaited those, who might in any way have incurred the resentment of that licentious crew, and who were neither in a position to pacify nor to captivate their venal and rapacious accusers. Still, strange as it may appear, nine years of bad and oppressive government were insufficient to exhaust the forbearance of the people; and when the audacious tyrant ventured, in 796, to solicit the privilege, they made no attempt to oppose the association of his only son Maurizio, who had up to this time dissembled his vices with difficulty and care. We can hardly be surprised to learn, however, that the new doge, whose milder counsels, it was hoped or imagined, would exercise a salutary and softening influence over the mind of Giovanni, soon evinced a disposition to share, rather than to check or discountenance, his excesses. Was it to be expected that a prince who, from his youth had been accustomed to see deeds of violence sanctioned with impunity, and even applauded by servile adulation, would afford an example worthy of imitation, still less one, which such a father would choose to imitate? And, in fact, during the next nine years, the two Galbaii seemed to vie with each other in abusing the rare and honourable privilege which their ancestor, the just citizen of Heraclia, had acquired by his virtue and moderation.

On the death of Obelalto di Antenori, Bishop of

quote, as my authorities, Bernardo Giustiniani (lib. xii. p. 139); Sandi (vol. i. p. 137); Galibert (ch. iii. p. 26).

Olivolo, in 797, the Byzantine court, probably desirous of having in Venice a zealous and influential representative, solicited the elder Galbaio to nominate as his successor, Christoforo Damiato,[1] a youth of sixteen, and a younger brother of the exarch of Ravenna. The doge offered no objection; Damiato was appointed to the see, and he merely awaited consecration at the hands of Giovanni, the aged patriarch of Grado. The latter, however, was too conscientious and bold not to express a feeling of displeasure and disgust at the ordination of a beardless stripling, who was not even a Venetian: and he staunchly refused to administer the holy oil, or to bear a part in casting so foul a stain on the honour of the church. The doge expostulated; but the old man remained unshaken in his resolution. Galbaio insisted: the primate was inflexible. And in the vehemence of his indignation the latter went so far as to pronounce a sentence of excommunication against both the doge and Damiato. Galbaio and his son were not unnaturally surprised and incensed at the insolent behaviour of their metropolitan; and the latter especially, who abundantly proved, in this matter, that he was not unworthy of such a parent, burning with impatience to wreak his vengeance on the object of their common resentment, hastened, with his father's concurrence, to Grado, entered that town without opposition at the head of a few troops, and, seizing the unfortunate prelate,

[1] Sansovino (*Chronico Veneto*, p. 13); ibid. (*Venetia Descritta*, lib. i. p. 17); Dandolo (lib. vii. ch. 13); Marin (vol. i. p. 222); B. Giustiniani (lib. xii. p. 139).

caused him to be precipitated from the loftiest tower of his own palace.

The report of this cowardly and barbarous deed flew from island to island, until the sad truth became generally known in Venice; the indignation of the people was easily legible in threats, invectives, and murmurs; and the two Galbaii, perceiving that they had gone somewhat too far, made an attempt to avert the impending storm by offering the vacant pallium to Giovanni's nephew, Fortunato of Trieste. But a crime of such aggravated atrocity was not so readily expiated or overlooked. The late catastrophe was one of a kind which, in any age and under any circumstances, was calculated to awaken feelings of the deepest abhorrence and disgust: in an age, when the priesthood was in such high repute, and under such circumstances, it amounted to a sacrilegious enormity. Independently of his sacred character and his holy office, Giovanni had rendered himself, by his gentle manners and amiable disposition, universally popular; his cruel and melancholy fate was therefore deplored by all classes of the community; all joined in denouncing his murder as a horrible outrage on religion and humanity; and while Fortunato, too ambitious to have a delicate sense of honour, accepted the proffered dignity, he neither renounced, in truth, the desire, nor abandoned the hope, of obtaining ultimate satisfaction for the injury, which his family had sustained.

In the relations, which subsisted, in the eighth and ninth centuries, between Venice and the empire of the West, there appears to have been little cordiality. Yet,

at the same time, they were friendly and almost uninterrupted. And while those citizens of the Adriatic lagoon persevered, through every phase of fortune, in the prudent, though hazardous, design, which the republic had formed, as it would seem, in her infancy, of securing, at any cost, the exclusive favour and patronage of the Byzantine court, the Venetians, wisely judging, that their future rank as an Italian state must largely depend on their progress as a trading community, hesitated not to solicit, at the hands of the successors of Alboin and Clovis, the valuable right of commerce and of way on the rivers which irrigate the plains of Lombardy and France.[1] Still, in the estimation of a true Venetian, the Franks and the Lombards stood almost as low in the scale of civilization as the Huns and the Vandals. They might certainly be less ferocious and blood-thirsty in character, in condition more refined and enlightened. But their language seemed to be equally barbarous, their manners equally rude, their dress equally uncouth;[2] and a people, who prided themselves especially on their direct descent from the old Roman nobility, and whose habits of life brought them in closer contact than any other European nation of that day, with the polite inhabitants of the Levant, had insensibly contracted a secret feeling of contempt for the warlike and illiterate natives of the West. Furthermore, the Venetians were disposed to con-

[1] Allou (*Monumens des differens Ages observés dans la Haute-Vienne.* Paris, 1821).

[2] It was a Venetian (Francesco Lodovici) however, who wrote the *Triomfi di Carlo*, published at Venice for the first time, I believe, in 1535.

sider that an adhesion to the empire of Charlemagne afforded no security for the national liberty and independence; while they were well aware that to break off their connection with the court of Constantinople, was to strike at the root of their commercial prosperity.

On the other hand, it must be observed that there was, at the present time, a small, yet rising, party in Venice, who were led by disgust at the conduct of the two Galbaii, or possibly by more selfish motives, to regard the Franks and their southern neighbours with a less intolerant eye, and to view a more intimate alliance with the empire of the Carlovingians as accessory to the welfare, as well as not *wholly* inconsistent with the dignity, of the republic. That party, whose numbers and influence were steadily on the increase, already counted among its leading members, Obelerio di Antenori, tribune of Malamocco, and the brother of the late Bishop of Olivolo, Demetrio Marmano, and Giorgio Foscari;[1] it was now at once joined by the new patriarch of Grado, who probably expected to be thus placed in a position to accomplish his own private ends.

This political schism rekindled the war of the factions from its ashes; instead of being torn by innumerable divisions, as in the time of the Gastaldi, the State was now distracted by a deadly feud between two great rival parties; and those parties might not inaptly be denominated the *Franks* and the *Greeks*. The former, which

[1] Daru (vol. i. p. 65); Sansovino (*Ven. Descr.* lib. xiii. p. 537); Diedo (vol. i. lib. i. p. 20). P. Marcello (*Vite de Principi di Vinegia*, p. 6), suggests that the Antenori derived their origin from the same stock as the Anafesti.

comprised, as we have said, the patriarch of Grado, and his adherents, advocated the expediency of changing that which had been the policy of Venice from time almost immemorial, and of establishing a closer connection between the republic and the court of France; the latter, consisting of the Galbaii themselves, and of the citizens of Heraclia, were averse, from motives of affection and interest, to the introduction of any such change. It might seem natural to regard the part taken by the *Greeks* as the wiser and the nobler: yet if it were true that toward the close of the reign of Galbaio I., Charlemagne had thought proper to resent some real or imagined insult on the part of the islanders, by confiscating the whole of the property which the merchants of Heraclia had gradually acquired in Lombardy, we could scarcely help concluding that the strong repugnance, on the part of the latter, to place the relations of their country with his empire on a firmer footing, arose in some measure from this circumstance.

The first stage of the new civil war was, however, of comparatively brief duration; for an extensive conspiracy, which had been secretly organized by the *Franks* against the Galbaii, was, by the negligence or indiscretion of its members, prematurely discovered; and those implicated, had obviously no other course open to them, but an immediate flight from Venice, and an appeal to their French patron for protection and sympathy. Fortunato himself repaired accordingly to the court of Charlemagne; Antenori, Marmano, and Foscari, remained at Treviso, where they purposed to watch the progress of events, and to raise the standard of revolt against Giovanni and his son.

His sacred character, his high station, the wrongs of his family, above all, the position, which he held as chief and representative of the French faction in Venice, ensured the patriarch of Grado a favourable reception at the hands of Charlemagne, and in his interview with that great man, the wily churchman failed not to improve the natural advantages, which he enjoyed, by offering every homage which the son of Pepin might consider due to his rank and genius. Opening the conference with a full and highly coloured relation of the murder of his uncle, the primate dwelt for some time on the wanton and flagitious character of that act. He next proceeded to expatiate on the injurious effects of the new system of association, which, he said, was gradually converting an elective magistracy into an hereditary despotism.[1] He then drew the attention of Charles to the present state of public feeling in Venice, to the increasing discontent and disgust with which the infamous and intolerable tyranny of Giovanni and Maurizio Galbaio inspired all classes of the citizens, and the consequently growing inclination, on the part of the people generally, to join the ranks of the French faction. And, in allusion to a recent treaty between Charlemagne and the Byzantine court,[2] which had declared Venice a free republic, attached only by the ties of friendship and interest to the eastern empire, the patriarch presumed to suggest that such a close and ambiguous connection was, in every point of view, detrimental to the welfare of the empire of the West.

[1] Marin (vol. i. pp. 223-4); Filiasi (vol. v. p. 293).

[2] Dandolo (lib. vii. ch. 15).

Fortunato concluded by invoking the vengeance of Charlemagne on the heads of those wicked and impious men, who had imbrued their hands in the blood of his innocent relative.

The French emperor, who seems to have long harboured the design of aiming a blow at Venetian independence, lent a not unwilling ear to the words which fell from Fortunato; and while he expressed sorrow at the death of the uncle, and an interest in the cause of the nephew, we suspect that Charles formed in his mind the secret resolution of ridding himself, at the first opportunity, of a troublesome neighbour, by annexing the commune of Venice to the dominions of the Iron crown.

But while Fortunato was absent in France, an event had occurred in his own country, which, while it hastened his return, frustrated, in a large measure, the projects of his royal patron. For, not long after the departure of the patriarch from Venice, Giovanni and his son, having surpassed, in some particular instance, the measure of popular forbearance, had been driven from their throne by a powerful insurrection, and forced to take refuge at Mantua; and the tribune Antenori, having been proclaimed doge at Treviso by his party, had been conducted in triumph to Malamocco, where he received the berretta amid the rejoicings of a people, released at last, as it really seemed, from the galling yoke of tyranny (804).

It is, in our opinion, exceedingly doubtful whether we should justly ascribe the elevation of the late tribune of Malamocco to French influence: yet it is no less certain that Charlemagne counted largely on the gratitude and

tractability of the new doge; and it is generally believed that Antenori himself, who was not possessed of that force and firmness of character, which might have led him to desert his faction for the sake of serving his country, was personally well disposed to acknowledge the claim. But the bare supposition, that the republic would obey, or that her first magistrate would be suffered to receive, the commands of a foreign power, is, as it seems to us, sufficient and satisfactory proof, that Obelerio grossly mistook his position, and that Charles greatly overrated his influence at Venice. The emperor might flatter the pride, and favour the pretensions, of a party, without producing any marked sensation on the general mind of the republic. Indeed, it was well known that the French faction had received no slight encouragement from him, in the shape of promises and bribes, to persevere in the course, which they were pursuing at present. But the attempted enforcement of a groundless right to dictate to the Venetians the line of policy, to which they should adhere, as regarded their external relations, closed the wounds of civil discord, and awakened the heart of a nation.

In the mean time, the new reign had been unfortunate almost in its very commencement. Shortly after his accession, Obelerio had obtained permission to associate his younger brother Beato; and for a while the two Antenori were suffered to remain in the peaceful exercise of their authority, without exhibiting, on either side, an inclination to abuse the power, which was jointly vested in them, or

to engross it. But an unforeseen incident speedily dispelled this illusory dream of felicity and concord. On the *lidi* near Pigueda, at the mouth of the Piave,[1] it appears that some noble citizens of Malamocco had recently founded a colony, which they endowed with a church, and enriched with orchards, plantations, and vineyards; their position afforded them a free access to the neighbouring cities; and under the auspices of commerce and industry, the settlers had gradually become a thriving and prosperous community. Yet, although they had hitherto pursued their peaceful avocations without hinderance or opposition, their progress was watched with a jealous and intolerant eye by the citizens of Heraclia, whose aversion to the Malamoccese had increased, in no slight degree, since the banishment of the two Galbaii;[2] and in course of time the quiet and secluded retreat on the banks of the Piave was constantly exposed to predatory visits from the Heraclians, who were led by one of their most powerful noblemen, Giorgio Joannasio by name. The natural consequence was that collisions, sometimes attended by fatal results, were of frequent occurrence between the colonists and the aggressors; in one of them, in fact, were slain the four brothers of Galla Catanio, a noble Equilese;[3] and Catanio, disconsolate at the loss, as well as piqued at the insult, at once repaired to Malamocco, and preferred his complaint before the Doges

[1] B. Giustiniani (lib. xiii. p. 14); A. Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 939).
[2] Marin (vol. i. p. 238); Paolo Morosini (lib. iii. p. 50).
[3] B. Giustiniani (lib. xiii. p. 147).

Antenori. Whether his success was left to rest wholly on the issue of this conference with Obelerio and his brother, or whether the injured man was invited to plead his cause before the Arrengo, we have no means of ascertaining. Unquestionably, the Antenori had the means of redress in their own hands, and it was perfectly competent for them to pronounce a decision in such a case without referring to the national assembly. But, on the other hand, it might be considered more politic to preserve, under an actual despotism, the form of a free constitution, and the faint image of a pure republic. "The Heraclians," exclaimed Galla, when he had stated the circumstances which brought him to Malamocco, and had demanded satisfaction for the wrong,—"the Heraclians are the most unjust of men; they never cease to plot against the state and the commonwealth; they set at defiance the laws and the government, and violate the dearest and most sacred rights of individuals." The charge of Catanio was partly true: his complaint was perfectly just. The plea, which he used, was powerful; the temptation, which he offered, was strong; and after a becoming hesitation, the doges hastened, with secret satisfaction, to avenge the wrongs of a bereaved brother on the members of an odious faction. A few light barks were accordingly armed and equipped, and placed under the orders of Beato, who proceeded to Heraclia, and deprived of sight and life all those, who were known or thought to be implicated in the death of the four Catanii. As some slight compensation for the terrible loss which he had sustained, Galla himself was at once made tribune

of Equilo,[1] an office which, it may be concluded, was then vacant.

Yet, even the severe retribution, which they had thus exacted, quenched not the thirst of the Malamoccese for revenge; and on his return from his expedition, Beato was prompted to suggest, as a pledge of future security, the instant and complete destruction of Heraclia itself, the hotbed of faction, and, as it was said, the spring of wellnigh all the misfortunes, which had befallen the republic of late years. The doge reminded the popular assembly that it would be easy to provide for the inhabitants by transferring them to the other islands. The extraordinary proposition of Beato gave rise, however, to a long and grave discussion in the Arrengo: for there were many even in Malamocco and Equilo decidedly averse to such a violent remedy. But the influence of the party to which the Antenori belonged, commanded a large majority; the views of the doge met, in the end, with general approval; and those, who still beheld with regret a flourishing town levelled with the dust, were constrained to seek consolation in the pleasing, though doubtful assurance, that the seeds of civil discord were buried for ever in the ruins of Heraclia.[2]

By the treaty, which had been concluded in 803, between Charlemagne and the court of Constantinople, it was expressly stipulated that the maritime towns of

[1] Romanini (vol. i. p. 138), who, I find on reference to that old work, has derived his information from the *Cronaca Altinate*, lib. iii. p. 78.

[2] Dandolo (lib. vii. ch. xv.); Marin (vol. i. p. 238-9); Filiasi (vol v. p. 305); Sagorninus (*Chronicon Venetum*, p. 20); Sandi (vol. i. p. 274); B. Giustiniani (lib. xiii. p. 148).

Istria and Dalmatia should thenceforth be considered as forming an integral portion of the Eastern Empire; and this stipulation was observed with strictness till 808, in which year, Nicephorus (the Greek emperor), viewing with increasing anxiety the policy of Charlemagne toward the Illyric provinces, despatched a squadron of observation to the Adriatic under the command of the patrician Nicetas. Nicetas was instructed to offer the title of imperial consul to the elder Antenori, and, should he judge fit, to enlist the services of the republic in the cause of his master. The Venetians, who also regarded with distrust and solicitude the movements of the French emperor and those of his son Pepin, the young King of Italy, learnt, with secret satisfaction, the approach of the imperial admiral, on whose friendship and support they thought that they might rely in the event of an open rupture with Charles; and when Nicetas, after the sack of Piombino and a desultory cruise along the Tuscan coast, directed his course toward the lagoon, he was joyfully welcomed to Malamocco by every Venetian, who had the true interests of his country at heart. The object of the admiral's visit was easily explained to those, to whom it was not already known; he intimated to the Antenori, that it was shortly his intention to commence operations on a more extensive scale against the Lombard kingdom; and before he resumed the offensive, he was exceedingly desirous of securing the cohesion and aid of the republic. The proposition of Nicetas was one, however, which, as the doges said, demanded much and mature consideration. Obelerio,

although, indeed, he had accepted without apparent reluctance the honorary dignity of Hypatos, expressed a fear, that it was hardly compatible with the interests of his commune to accede to the request. Beato, on the other hand, who, from policy or inclination, was more attached to the Byzantine court, seemed disposed to entertain it favourably; and on the sense of the legislature being taken on the question, it was found that the views of the younger Antenori coincided with those of the nation at large. Obelerio could not, therefore, but consent to afford the assistance required; a small fleet was accordingly prepared, and placed under the orders of his third brother, Valentino,[1] who received instructions to act in strict concert with the imperial commander; and Commacchio, toward which the Venetians bore a strong, though secret, dislike, as the mart of a thriving trade in fish and salt,[2] was approved or suggested by them as the first point of attack.

But, on his part, King Pepin had no sooner been apprised of the intended movements of the allies, than he hastened to render Commacchio, naturally difficult of access, capable of making a vigorous defence, and of sustaining a long siege. That town was by his direction fortified, garrisoned, and victualled; and such was the zeal and energy, with which the inhabitants defended their ramparts, that, after several unsuccessful attempts to gain an entry into the place, the Greeks and Vene-

[1] Filiasi (vol. v. p. 324); Sabellico (lib. ii. p. 57).

[2] Marin (lib. iv. ch. v. vi. pp. 239-243); Saint Marc (*Abrégé Chronologique*, vol. i. p. 45); *Annales Bertiniani*, p. 502.

tians—the latter of whom are said to have suffered considerably during the operations—were reluctantly obliged to abandon their design, and to evacuate the port. Nicetas returned with Valentino to Venice. But shortly afterwards he set out with his squadron for the Golden Horn. He was accompanied by an embassy, consisting of Beato di Antenori himself, Christopher Damiatus, bishop of Olivolo, and Felice, tribune of the same place,[1] who were charged with the task of establishing, on a firmer and more intelligible basis, the relations between their country and the court of Constantinople: a step which, as it seems, the government of the republic had taken at the admiral's suggestion or request.

On his arrival in the Eastern capital, Beato di Antenori was at once created an imperial consul;[2] and it is said that, during his stay at Constantinople, he actually concluded a treaty, by which the political and commercial relations of the republic with the empire of the East, were placed on a much more favourable footing than before. We must observe, however, that if any such compact was really made on this occasion, no vestiges or records of it are discoverable; consequently, the truth of the tradition may fairly be doubted. At the same time, the reception of the doge-ambassador at the hands of Nicephorus, which was of the most flattering description, exercised a strange influence on his mind. It filled him with new fancies and pretensions. It quite transported him beyond himself, and led him to form an exaggerated

[1] B. Giustiniani (lib. xiv. p. 156).

[2] Dandolo (lib. vii. p. 157); Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 538).

estimate of his own importance, and to feel a certain contempt for his brother and the French faction. We shall see that the visit of Beato to Constantinople—by the bickerings, dissensions, and heart-burnings, to which it gave rise among its members—was the immediate cause of the subsequent downfall of the powerful house of Antenori.

On the return of his brother to Venice, Obelerio observed, with pain and surprise, a marked alteration in the behaviour of Beato towards himself and his former adherents, whom he now began to treat with coldness and insolence; and the elder Antenori also perceived, with severe mortification, that the new imperial consul was not only estranging himself more and more from the party, to which he might be said to owe everything, but was rapidly rising in the public favour and confidence by his decided adhesion to the *Greeks*. Obelerio had just and abundant reason to view this change in his brother with regret and alarm; and he felt that it was only due to himself to preserve the balance of power in the State, which must soon be endangered by the preponderant influence of Beato, by admitting his youngest brother Valentino, who had commanded the Venetian troops at the siege of Cammacchio, to a share in the sovereignty. Whether this extraordinary innovation was sanctioned by the popular assembly, it is difficult to say;[1] but it appears that an arrangement was concluded in consequence, by which all public acts were to be executed, during the term of their joint administration,

[1] See, however, Dandolo (lib. vii. p. 158).

in the name, and by the authority, of the three Antenori, and by which a difference of opinion on any question of importance, should such a difference arise, was to be referred to the Arrengo.[1]

In the mean time, Charlemagne, considering that the late attempt on Commacchio fully released him from his treaty with Nicephorus, had ordered his son Pepin to invade Dalmatia, and (although they had borne so conspicuous a part in that undertaking) to solicit the co-operation of the Venetians. The royal request, which was conveyed through the ordinary medium of an embassy, placed Obelerio in a most embarrassing and delicate position. He was personally willing to serve, and anxious to conciliate, his old patron; he was of opinion, that his country had been guilty, at least, of an act of gross imprudence, in assuming a hostile attitude toward the French court; and his sentiments were shared and supported by his consort, who was of French extraction. But the doge was also quite aware that neither Beato nor the people at large would ever consent to afford the aid required, and he judged rightly that defeat, in such a matter, could not fail to be extremely injurious to his character and reputation. Nor were the fears of Obelerio without sufficient foundation. For, notwithstanding his repeated assurances, that a refusal, on the part of the republic, to comply with the wishes of Pepin, involved her certain ruin by drawing down on her head the terrible vengeance of a powerful conqueror, the mission of the Lombard deputies was wholly unsuccessful; and the

[1] Sandi (vol. i. p. 273).

king, incensed at the insult, though, perhaps, not displeased at the pretext, at once resolved to turn the forces, which, as it is alleged, he had originally levied for the Dalmatian campaign, against the commune of Venice. It was consequently soon known at Malamocco, that their formidable enemy was sailing toward the lagoons with all the disposable strength of the Lombard cities, which had readily proffered their services against a state, whose growing power and prosperity were even now regarded by her neighbours with jealousy and apprehension. Under such circumstances, and at a moment when the very existence of the commune appeared to be at stake, the national assembly met at Malamocco. The debate was unusually stormy and tumultuous.[1] The partisans of Obelerio and his brothers espoused their cause with warmth and zeal. They made every exertion to exonerate those princes from the charge of high treason, which was preferred against them. They denied indignantly and emphatically that they had ceased to deserve the confidence of the nation. The Antenorists recommended their countrymen not to lend too ready or credulous an ear to false and interested accusers. For what, in point of fact, had the doges done? Why should it be said they had forfeited their right to the throne? Why should the republic call upon them to abdicate the high position, which they now held? Because the Lombard king had thought proper to halt for an

[1] I borrow the following details from B. Giustiniani (lib. xv. pp. 164-170), whose testimony I consider to be deserving of credit; but the reader may also refer to Marin (i. 7).

unusually long period on the skirts of the lagoon, was it therefore to be inferred that a secret understanding existed, that a treasonable correspondence had passed, between the doges and the son of Charlemagne? They besought the people to pause and consider, before they committed such a gross and palpable injustice.

Other speakers, who were indifferent, indeed, to the preservation of the present government in power, but who, from temper or mode of thinking, were averse to extreme measures, were inclined to a middle course; and while they joined in advocating the exile of the dark and ambitious Obelerio, they pleaded extenuating circumstances in favour of Beato and Valentino di Antenori, whose conduct, they submitted, was, in many points of view, less censurable, and who, if left to act on their own behalf, would, it was thought, listen to wiser and juster counsels.

But the opinions of the moderate party, as well as those of the Antenorists, were soon overruled by the two tribunes of Rialto, Angelo Badoer and Timotheus (the surname of the latter has been lost), who strongly dissuaded the republic from accepting, under existing circumstances, any compromise whatever, or from giving ear to any suggestions, which might have the unfortunate effect of delaying a provision for the present emergency; and a motion (if we may borrow the modern phraseology) was at once put by the latter, and almost unanimously passed, "that the Antenori had deserved ill of the republic; that, since by treasonable correspondence with the enemy, they had sought to betray their country,

they were no longer worthy to reign; and that it was expedient to proceed to the election of a new doge." The first part of the motion of the tribune Timotheus was immediately carried into effect. Obelerio and Beato were condemned to perpetual exile: the former was relegated to Constantinople, the latter to Zara, in Dalmatia; while their youngest brother, whose complicity was open, in the general opinion, to fair and reasonable doubt, was suffered, by an act of popular clemency, to retire into the obscurity of a private station.[1] And the legislative body, having finally rejected the advice of the French faction to implore, while it was yet time, the mercy and forgiveness of Pepin, intrusted the safety of the republic to the tribune Badoer who, although he held the office of gastaldo of Rialto, was by birth an Heraclian. By the direction of Badoer, chains were thrown, without loss of time, across the canals; vessels were sunk at their mouths; and the rows of piles, which usually indicated to the mariner the navigable passages, were carefully removed. Nothing, in short, was left undone, at that critical juncture, which might serve to impede the progress of the enemy; and so soon as it was understood that the latter were already approaching Brondolo, the whole Venetian population, abandoning the outer holms, withdrew, at Angelo's suggestion, into the central island of Rialto.

Meanwhile King Pepin, led by the language, in which the late Doge Obelerio had couched his last message, to

[1] Compare Egiuard (*Vita Karoli Magni*, vol. i. p. 264) with Dandolo (lib. vii. p. 159); and consult Blondus (*De Gestis Ven.* p. 13).

infer that a change of resolution, on the part of the besieged, was far from unlikely, had determined to test, for some time, the effect of a temporising policy. But the views of the Venetians remained unchanged, their fortitude unshaken; Pepin soon grew weary of longer delay; and when he perceived that it was useless to look for any pacific proposals, he decided on advancing with his fleet. The French gained and invested in succession Brondolo, Pelestrina, Torcello, Equilo, and Malamocco; and the tide being still full (though on the ebb), the invaders penetrated as far as Albiola, near which the naval forces of the republic were drawn up under the command of Victor, a citizen of Old Heraclia, and a man thoroughly conversant with the windings and intricacies of his native lagoons. At this point the progress of the Lombard king was arrested by a natural, but unforeseen, difficulty: the water had become, at length, too shallow to admit the heavy draught of the vessels, which conveyed him and his followers from Ravenna; and he discovered with vexation that it would be impossible to reach the central island without throwing a bridge across the narrow canal, which lay between Albiola and Rialto. This clumsy structure, which the Franks hastily composed of tubs, planks, and the intertwisted boughs of vines and olives, was soon ready for use; and the enemy, full of confidence and enthusiasm, rushed blindly forward, alike without discipline or caution, to their intended prey. The step was a foolish and a fatal one. The rude and incongruous materials of the bridge yielded, in a few moments, to the sudden and enormous

pressure, which had been made to bear upon it; and hundreds of human beings were precipitated into the soft ooze of the lagoon, where they were speedily drowned or suffocated. Moreover, the invaders now perceived with dismay that the tide had gradually ebbed, and that their vessels were stranded: and those, who escaped a watery grave, were, in most cases, overtaken and massacred by the relentness islanders.[1] Such was the glorious and unlooked-for issue of the struggle for liberty, which was called, in aftertimes, the battle of Albiola; and the strait, where King Pepin was so utterly defeated by the tribune Badoer, and Victor his lieutenant, is known to posterity as the *Canaglia d'Orfano.* The battle of Albiola, so vital in its nature, so decisive in its result, was, it is true, long and severely felt by the Venetians; and it brought, without doubt, misery and widowhood into many families. But it had baffled completely the aim of their hated foe; and they were still a nation. We learn that a treaty of peace was soon afterwards concluded between the two powers; and it is on record, that, in his latest moments, the son of Charlemagne was magnanimous enough to express a regret at the course which he had pursued toward the republic.

The magnitude of the evil, which had been averted by so timely a victory, appeared to afford a pledge of the high claims of Angelo Badoer on the consideration of his country; and the tribune of Rialto was soon invited, as a token of public gratitude, to assume the ducal *berretta.* Nor did the moderation of Angelo

[1] Galibert (ch. iii. pp. 29-30); G. Diedo (lib. ii. p. 27).

carry him so far as to decline such a proud and rational distinction;[1] and he formed, in his own person, the first of a line of doges, who swayed the ivory sceptre during a period of seventy-four years. We should have been glad to know what afterwards became of Victor, Badoer's lieutenant at Albiola. That he obtained the just reward of his valuable and patriotic services, we are unwilling to doubt, yet we are unable to affirm. For the fact is not borne out by historical testimony of any kind; nor, which is somewhat curious, does the name of Victor occur, in the chronicles of that day, either prior or subsequently to the great occasion, on which his courage and capacity were tried by so severe a test.

By his energy and example, the successor of the Antenori encouraged the citizens, many of whom were destitute alike of shelter and the means of subsistence, to restore their dwellings, and resumé their occupations, which they had hurriedly left on the approach of Pepin; at the private cost of the Badoeri and other noble families, a New City (*Citta Nuova*) was reared on the ruins of Heraclia; Olivolo was, at the same time, endowed with a church in honour of Saint Peter; and another church, dedicated to S. S. Lorenzo and Severo, was founded by some Venetian citizens on the islet of Zimole.[2] Moreover, a new palace was erected by the doge at

[1] At the same time his brother Orso, who had taken holy orders, was ordained bishop of Olivolo; and his second son, Giusto Badoer, bishop of Torcello. See Sansovino (lib. i p. 17); Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 168).

[2] Sanudo (*Vite de Duchi*, p. 452).

Rialto, which was henceforward to be regarded as the metropolis of Venice; and the sixty circumjacent islands were now, for the first time, connected with the capital by wooden bridges.

During the long and tranquil reign of Badoer (809-27), the Venetians, unharassed by faction or external troubles, steadily continued to develop and extend their maritime and river commerce, which, while it tended so largely to promote their prosperity as a nation, taught them to endure the hardships of war without depreciating the blessings of peace.

The Doge Angelo had three sons: Giustiniani, the eldest; Giusto, who succeeded, shortly after his father's accession, to the see of Torcello;[1] and lastly, Giovanni, who was the youngest. In 813, that is, four years after the battle of Albiola, a second treaty of partition having been concluded between Charlemagne and Michael I., the successor of the Emperor Nicephorus, Giustiniani Badoer was sent by the doge to Constantinople, for the purpose of ascertaining, on the part of the republic, the nature and terms of the new compact;[2] and the noble envoy was led to found on the mischievous precedent, made during the reign of the first Galbaio, a pleasing, and certainly not irrational, hope, that a share in the sovereignty might be the reward of his zeal and success. It

[1] Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 538); Ughellus (*Italia Sacra*, vol. v. p. 1432); Dandolo (lib. viii. ch. i.); *Cronaca Altinate*, lib. ii. pp. 27-8.

[2] This treaty is mentioned by Dandolo (lib. viii. ch. i.). It confirmed the republic in the possession of the territory between the two Piaves, which she had acquired in the time of the doge Anafesto. It also recognized her liberty and independence.

appears, however, that during his absence, which must necessarily have extended over several months, the doge was injudicious enough to associate Giovanni; and when, on his return from the mission, with which he had been charged, the elder brother learnt what had happened, he was so piqued and mortified at his father's unfair preference, that he absolutely refused to see the old man, retiring, with his wife Felicia and his little son Angelo, into the church of San Lorenzo, which belonged, by a species of seignorial right, to his uncle Orso, bishop of Olivolo, the founder of the building. The strange conduct and sulky behaviour of Giustiniani had, at least, the effect of impressing the doge with a sense of the just and superior claim of his eldest son; and his Serenity formed in his mind the singular and arbitrary resolution of annulling his hasty and, as it now seemed, premature choice. The consequence was that an honour, which had been bestowed without forethought, was now withdrawn without cause; Giovanni was persuaded or compelled to submit to the will of a parent, and the weakness of a brother; and the coveted distinction was transferred to Giustiniani, who not long afterwards procured leave to associate his own son Angelo. Giovanni who, so far as we can judge at such a distance of time, seems to have been treated by the doge with unwarrantable harshness, proceeded, on his abdication, to Zara, in Dalmatia, and after a short sojourn in that city, he went to Bergamah, where he had an interview with Leo the Armenian, at a subsequent period Emperor of the East. His final destination, how-

ever, was Constantinople, where he determined to remain till his father's death.

With the exception of an obscure and abortive conspiracy, two of the members of which effected their escape, it appears, and the remaining one was executed, the reign of Angelo Badoer, extending over a period of eighteen years, was uniformly tranquil. His demise occurred in 827, and it had been shortly preceded by that of his grandson and namesake: consequently in that year Giustiniani Badoer became sole doge. But this prince, who was of a sickly and feeble constitution, soon found himself unequal to the weight of undivided authority: and his brother Giovanni was accordingly recalled and associated.

During the joint reign of the two Badoeri, the aid of the republic was again sought by the court of Constantinople, which began, about this period, to be harassed by the maritime incursions of the Saracens; and we find that in 827-8, a small Venetian fleet was despatched to the Mediterranean, to act in concert with the imperial squadron in that sea. No engagement is recorded, however, as having taken place between the allies and the pirates, who were probably anxious to avoid open hostilities; and the enterprize resolved itself into a desultory cruise along the coast of Sicily.[1] But an event took place in the following year, which has sufficed to preserve the name of Giustiniani Badoer from the oblivion, to which

[1] Sabellico (lib. ii. p. 46); Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 744); Dandolo (lib. viii. ch. ii.); Blondus (*De Gestis Ven.* p. 4.); Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 540); Galibert (ch. iv. p. 32); Daru (vol. i. p. 81); Marin (vol. ii. p. 18); G. Diedo (lib. ii. p. 29).

his otherwise obscure reign might have consigned it. In 829, the body of Saint Mark the Evangelist, which had long lain in the temple, founded by himself at Alexandria, if we may credit the prevalent tradition, was transferred to Venice by two merchants of the latter city, who, in contravention of an edict, issued by the late doge, inhibiting the supply of arms and provisions to the enemies of the Eastern Empire, were carrying on a clandestine commerce with the Egyptian ports.[1]

The translation of the Evangelist, which forms so remarkable and interesting a feature, in early Venetian history, originated, we are told,[2] in the following circumstance:—The caliph of Egypt, who was inveterately hostile to the Christian religion, was building, at this period, a splendid palatial residence in one of his chief cities; and it was reported that, in order to beautify the new edifice, it was in contemplation to strip all the Christian temples in the country of their ornaments and plate. Shocked at the profane avarice of the misbeliever, and justly apprehensive, that the church of Saint Mark at Alexandria, where the Evangelist was said to exist in a state of spiritual repose, would share the common lot, two Venetian merchants, named Buono and Rustico, who chanced to be trading at the time in that port with ten galleys, resolved, in a fit of pious enthusiasm, to

[1] Filiasi (vol. v. p. 25).

[2] Bernardo Giustiniani (*De Translatione Beati Marci Evangelistæ*, lib. ii.); Blondus (*De Gestis Ven.* p. 4); Giuseppe Michieli (*Feste Veneziane*, vol. i. pp. 96-100); Leo Amore (*Description of Africa*, lib. vi. p. 302). The last-named writer charges Buono and his companion with "privily stealing" the body.

attempt the deliverance of the saint from the peril, by which he was threatened. Having, with this object in view, sought a conference with Stauratius and Theodore, the officiating priests of the temple, the two merchants opened to them a project, which they had formed, for removing the holy relics under cover of the darkness, and conveying them secretly to Venice, where they felt assured that they might rest for ever in peace and security. The Greeks, who were completely taken by surprise by the proposition, demurred at first, representing the extreme hazard and danger, by which such a plan would be attended; but they ultimately yielded to the importunacy of Buono and his companion. The body of Saint Mark was speedily enwrapped in the linen shrouds of Saint Claudia, for the sake, as it was designed, of greater security; it was then placed in a deep basket, where it was ingeniously hidden beneath a thick layer of herbs and savoury joints of pork; and the Venetian seamen, who bore the load to the quay, took care to repeat, at intervals, the cry so odious to all true Mussulmen, of *Khanzir! Khanzir!* (*pork, pork*) as they proceeded at a slow pace, and with a dilatory air, from the church to the spot, where the merchants' vessels lay at anchor. On their safe arrival aboard, Buono and Rustico caused the mysterious basket to be hoisted at once to the masthead, lest by some singular mischance, the pious theft should, at the last moment, be discovered and denounced; and the chroniclers conclude by informing us how, on the homeward voyage, a tempest having arisen, Saint Mark appeared in a vision to Domenigo, a priest of Commacchio,

and one of the passengers; and admonished him to furl the sails; and how, on the following morning, the ship, which bore the remains of the Evangelist, reached in safety the port of Olivolo, where the offenders were gladly forgiven, and their precious charge was received with every mark of gratitude and joy.

An event, similar to the foregoing, would now be regarded, for the most part, with profound indifference; and even in those quarters, where it might excite surprise or curiosity, we are inclined to believe that the sensation would be transient and short-lived. Yet the arrival of Saint Mark at Venice was a circumstance which exercised, in truth, no inconsiderable influence over the mind, and even the fortune, of that state. It gave an impulse to the national commerce,[1] and a spur, as it were, to the national courage. Pilgrims soon began to flock to Rialto from every quarter of the civilized globe, to make their vows and oblations at his shrine, and crowned heads disdained not to mingle in the crowd of worshippers; the republic, which had been theretofore under the protection of Saint Theodore, was now consigned, by universal consent, to the guardianship of the Evangelist, whose image and name quickly came to be stamped on her coins,[2] and enwoven in her banners; and in aftertimes, the Venetian battle-cry was *Viva San Marco.*

[1] A commercial fair was subsequently instituted in honour of the Saint.

[2] The earliest Venetian coin, which Zanetti can trace, bore, on one side, the words *Christus imperat*, on the other, *Venecia;* but, after 829, the legend became *Christus imperat: San Marcus Venecia.*

A few months subsequently to the translation of Saint Mark, died the Doge Giustiniani Badoer, whose health, never sound, had been long on the decline, and whose weak constitution appears to have been slowly undermined by some chronic and incurable malady: by his decease, the undivided cares of government devolved on Giovanni, his younger brother (829). It should, perhaps, be mentioned here—though we purpose to dwell on the subject more particularly in another place—that, by his will, the late doge set apart a sum of sixty *lire piccioli* (about £2700),[1] as a fund for erecting a church in honour of the Patron-Saint, for whose sacred bones it might serve as a mausoleum; and the foundations of that splendid and gorgeous edifice, which was afterwards known as the Basilica, were actually laid in the early part of the succeeding reign.

The period during which Giovanni Badoer held the reigns of government—a period extending over the seven following years—was singularly turbulent and disastrous. For very shortly after the demise of his brother, the exile Obelerio, furiously jealous of the Badoeri, and confident in the good will and support of the old French faction, the numbers of which, he felt assured, would not hesitate to flock to his standard, ventured to return from Constantinople, and to settle at Veglia, a small fishing village, on the skirts of Malamocco; and here he designed to work, with as much

[1] The *lira picciola* was the eleventh part of the *lira grande;* but their money was worth, at that period, eleven times as much as at the present day. See Leber (*Essai sur la Fortune Privée*, pp. 102-3).

speed and secrecy as might be, the overthrow of the reigning house. But the doge, who had received private information of these seditious movements, was too keenly sensible of the potent and pernicious influence, which the Antenorists might exercise over popular credulity or discontent, to allow the conspirator and his adherents time to mature their plans; and as soon as he had armed and equipped a few vessels, his Serenity set out for Veglia. Immediately on his arrival, however, Badoer, having been apprised of the outbreak of a riot in favour of Obelerio at his native city, detached a sufficient force, to keep the Veglians in check, or to prevent the escape of the outlaw, and directed his course, with the rest of the squadron, toward Malamocco, which now underwent the same terrible fate, as had befallen Heraclia twenty years before. In the mean time, Veglia had capitulated, and was in the hands of the Venetian detachment; the old leader of the *French* faction was among the prisoners; and the doge, acting apparently on a persuasion, that the death of Obelerio was necessary, as a guarantee for his own and the public security, caused his unfortunate rival to be led and suspended to a gibbet, erected for the special purpose at Campalto, on the banks of the Silis.[1]

Thus miserably, then, perished a man, who, as tribune of Malamocco, had once enjoyed a large share of public confidence and esteem; thus fell the friend of Charlemagne, and the confederate of the Primate Fortunato! With Obelerio expired the hopes of the party, to which

[1] Filiasi (vol. i. p. 39); Marin (vol. ii. p. 26); Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 173); Sabellico (lib. iii. p. 52); Da Canale (*Chronaca Veneta*, s. ix.).

he had belonged, and of which, if not the founder, he might be justly considered the chief; and he was the last of the house of Antenori, that reigned in Venice.[1]

The execution of the ex-doge placed, however, a new weapon in the hands of those, who began, at this time, from various natives, to regard the rising and already preponderant influence of the house of Badoer with jealousy and inquietude. The discontented faction, the leading members of which were Carosio Nastalione, Marino Secundo, Domenigo Monetario, Diodato Gruto (perhaps Gritti), and Tritullo, a citizen of Grado,[2] readily contrived, by appealing to the interests of some and the passions of others, to organize a powerful and numerous conspiracy against the life of the doge; and such was the secrecy and circumspection of those, who were implicated in the plot, that Badoer, taken completely unawares, narrowly escaped from the hands of his enemies by a precipitate flight from Venice. The illustrious fugitive sought a temporary shelter at the court of France, where he was hospitably entertained by Louis the Pious, the son and successor of Charlemagne. Nastalione, on his part, on whom the insurgents appear to have looked as their leader, took immediate possession of the ducal palace, and caused himself to be proclaimed doge.

But the Venetians, who had at first received the report of a change in the government, with a smile of incre-

[1] The family was extinct, according to Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 424), in 986.

[2] Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 946); Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 174).

dulity, were no sooner acquainted with the real posture of affairs, than they rose in arms against the usurper, whose authority they joined in setting at open defiance: nor was it long before a band of thirty patriots, under the leadership of Domenigo Mocenigo, burst the gates of the palace, the stern and probably self-elected ministers of popular vengeance; and having seized the unfortunate Carosio, deprived him of sight and life, after a reign of scarcely six months. At the same time, while steps were taken to recal the legitimate doge, a provisional government was constituted, until his reinstatement, by Baseio Storlado, Giovanni Marcurio, and Orso Badoer, bishop of Olivolo,[1] in whose hands the national assembly consented to vest, as a temporary measure, the full powers and prerogatives of the ducal office.

Subsequently, however, to his return from France, the public career of Giovanni was both brief and inglorious. For, while he was still a guest at the court of the Emperor Louis, Giovanni Baseio, the member of a noble and influential family, tempted by the long absence of his Serenity, and by the instability of Carosio's power, had conceived the idea of placing the berretta on his own brows; his ambitious views were, of course, completely frustrated by the unexpected restoration of the doge; and Baseio regarded Badoer thenceforward with bitter and implacable hatred. The kindred and adherents of the disappointed nobleman fully shared his sentiments, as they had shared his hopes; and an opportunity was soon

[1] Compare Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 541) with Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 415); Leandro Alberti (*Venetæ Reipublicæ Descriptio*, p. 259).

found for indulging their common resentment. On the evening of the 29th June, 836, as his Serenity was on the point of quitting the church of St. Peter, at Olivolo, where he had been attending vespers, he was roughly seized by some hired emissaries of the rival faction: Badoer was, as usual, unattended; the bravoes were numerous and inexorable; and having shaven his hair and beard close, they hurried him to a neighbouring convent, where he was consigned to the silence and privacy of the cloister.[1] Having thus removed the only obstacle, which lay between him and the throne, Baseio might have reasonably expected to reap the reward of his patience and exertion. But he was again doomed to disappointment. For the popular assembly unanimously elected, as the successor of Badoer, Pietro Tradenigo, a noble Equilese, and chaplain or Primicerio of St. Mark[1] (836). Whether the Arrengo took cognizance of the atrocious and unwarrantable outrage, which had rendered the choice of a new doge so unexpectedly necessary, we have absolutely no means of judging. Tradenigo was at once invited or allowed to associate his only son Giovanni.

Pietro Tradenigo, whose ancestry came originally from Pola, in Istria,[2] was brave, virtuous, energetic; in his domestic relations, just and pious; in the exercise of the power which was vested in him, moderate and equitable. Yet the Venetians could scarcely be deemed fortunate in their choice of a prince who, with all these

[1] *Storia della Chiesa Ducale di San Marco*, p. 81.

[2] The Tradenigi became extinct, according to Sanudo (p. 428) in 946.

amiable and excellent qualities, was destitute of that force and firmness of character which, in seasons of difficulty, enable men to act with decision and promptitude, and in spite of all opposition, to command the respect and obedience of their fellow-men. The long reign of Tradenigo, extending from July 836 to September 864, was still more turbulent and still more disastrous than that of his predecessor; and it was marked by the first battle, which the republic fought, and the first defeat, which she suffered, on her own element. The four years, which succeeded the violent deposition of Giovanni Badoer were, however, for the most part, obscurely tranquil. An incursion of the pirates of Narenta, in 839, led to a slight engagement and a hollow truce;[1] and a league, formed between Venice and Verona, was successful, about the same time, in checking the depredations of the brigands, who infested the neighbourhood of the Lago di Garda.[2]

But a wider field of operations was about to open. In 840, the imperial flag of Greece was descried once more off Brondolo, and the doge received a visit from the admiral in command of a fleet, which the eastern emperor had sent to the Adriatic, to oppose the progress and inroads of the Saracens. Previously to opening the campaign, it was the wish of Theodosius to obtain the assistance of the Venetians;[3] and the latter, far from unwilling to ingratiate themselves with the Byzantine.

[1] Verus (lib. i. p. 20); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 454); Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 946); Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 175).

[2] Marin (ii. p. 43); G. Diedo (lib. ii. p. 30).

[3] Blondus (*De Gestis Ven.* p. 4).

court at the expense of a nation of pirates, consented to arm, in his service, a fleet of sixty galleys,[1] which the doge placed under the orders of Pietro Badoer.[2] The collision between the allies and Saba, king or chief of the Saracens, took place at Crotona, on the Gulf of Taranto; the battle was protracted and sanguinary; and for some time both sides maintained it with equal energy and resolution. But the Venetian commander, deriving little or no support from Theodosius, whose followers (if we may credit the historians of the republic) had fled in panic disorder at the first encounter, and unable to oppose singly the repeated onset of the misbelievers, was ultimately forced to succumb and retreat, after sustaining a severe loss in men as well as in ships; and the Saracens engaged in the pursuit with such relentless diligence, that a very small remnant of that fine marine, which had left the port of Olivolo a few months before, so full of confidence and enthusiasm, survived to announce to the country the disastrous result of the battle of Crotona.[3]

The news created a profound sensation in the mind of the people. It was generally felt that a terrible blow had been struck at the national prosperity, that a deep stain had been cast on the yet unsullied standard of Saint Mark. And in that trying moment the weight of private sorrow served to aggravate the pressure of

[1] Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 94); Saint Marc (*Abr.* i. p. 492).

[2] Navagiero, *ut suprâ.*

[3] Verus (lib. i. p. 21); Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 175); Sansovino (*Storic*, p. 947); G. Diedo (lib. ii. p. 31); Galibert (ch. iv. p. 35); Marin (ii. p. 33); Blondus (*De Gestis Venetorum*, p. 4).

public misfortune. Some deplored the untimely fate of a parent, some of a husband, while many had cause to shed a tear over the watery grave of their friends or kinsmen, who had fallen on this too memorable day. Amid such sad and distressing reflections, the startling intelligence was brought to Rialto, that the corsairs of Narenta, in violation of their recent and solemn promise to abstain from hostilities, were approaching the capital in considerable force, that they had already reached and ravaged the isle of Caorlo.[1] The imminence of the new danger at once banished all other thoughts; and the Admiral Badoer, having hastily collected a few vessels, advanced, without loss of time, to meet and repulse the invaders. But the latter, who had merely followed the track of the fugitives in quest of plunder, evinced no disposition to assume an hostile attitude, satisfied, as it seemed, with their present success; and, after a slight and indecisive action, they withdrew, of their own accord, from the lagoon.

It was natural to expect that an event of so grave and unparalleled a nature, as the late rout at Crotona, would raise a storm of rage and discontent, on the part of the public, against those, who might be considered open to a charge of indiscretion or incompetency; nor was it difficult to foresee, that that catastrophe would afford an occasion for the revival of civil dissension. And in fact, it was not long before six noble families, of whom the Polani, Baseii, and Giustiniani ranged themselves on one side, the Barbolani, Iscoli, and Selvi on the other, pre-

[1] Sabellico (lib. iii. p. 56); Daru (i. p. 94); Diedo (lib. ii. p. 31).

sumed, amid the general confusion which prevailed in Venice, to appear in the broad daylight, in the square of Saint Mark, with the avowed object of deciding their private differences by force of arms.

What the precise origin and cause of these disgraceful feuds were, we are unable, however, to determine; but it is tolerably clear that they extended, at broken intervals, over a long period; and we find that the doge had ultimately the culpable weakness to connive at the expulsion of the Barbolani and their confederates. But the triumph of the opposite faction was of short duration. For their rivals, having sought an asylum at the court of the Emperor Lothar, the son and successor of Louis the Pious, that prince tendered his powerful mediation between them and their commune; the mediation of Lothar was accepted; and the exiles were in consequence soon permitted to return to Venice. It appears to have been shortly after their recal, that an incident occurred which, though seemingly of an unimportant character, had the effect of hurrying the career of the Doge Tradenigo to an abrupt and melancholy close.

On the demise of Maurizio Vicenzi, Bishop of Olivolo, in the year 862, two members of the Venetian priesthood came forward as candidates for the vacant see. The Sanudi (or the Candiani, as they are sometimes called) nominated their relative, Zaccaria Sanudo. But his Serenity thought proper to induct his own kinsman, Domenigo Badoer.[1] The Sanudi vowed that they would

[1] Sansovino (*Chronico Veneto*, p. 15); Ibid. (*Venetia Descritta*, lib. xiii. p. 543); Filiasi (vi. p. 44); Alberti (*Deser. Ven. Reip.* p. 259);

have revenge for the insult, which had been offered to their house; and, although a considerable period elapsed before a suitable occasion presented itself, they ultimately discharged that vow. For, as the object of their resentment was crossing the *Ponte della Paglia*, on the evening of the 13th September, 864,[1] to attend vespers at the church of Saint Zacchary, he was suddenly assailed by Pietro Sanudo, at the head of a large body of friends and retainers; the Excusati and other attendants of Tradenigo were overpowered, after an obstinate and manful resistance; and the doge himself was barbarously murdered at the foot of the bridge. His guards and servants, when they saw that all hope was gone, hastily retraced their steps, under cover of the darkness, and took refuge in the ducal palace, where they prepared to defend themselves against all comers to the last extremity.[2]

The report of this execrable outrage excited in Venice an almost universal feeling of horror and consternation. The fate of the Doge Giovanni Badoer, his Serenity's predecessor in office, had not yet been forgotten; it was remarked that the present was the second instance, in which the chief magistrate had fallen a victim to the heartless violence of party-spirit; and it was hardly to be expected that the sad end of the virtuous and amiable

Sanudo (*Vite*, pp. 415, 435). Compare also Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 543) with Marin (ii. p. 46).

[1] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 181); Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 543). See also Pietro Marcello (*Vite de Principi*, p. 13); and Marin (ii. p. 46).

[2] Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 455); Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 948); Sansovino (lib. vi. pp. 242-3).

Tradenigo would be regarded with indifference by a nation, which he had served so long and so well. The popular assembly met therefore at Rialto in the latter part of September amid a general cry for retributive justice; and a high commission, consisting of the Bishop of Equilo, the Archdeacon of Grado, and Domenigo Masono[1] was immediately appointed to investigate the circumstances of the late catastrophe, and to report the result of their labours to the legislative body. Nothing, however, was done, at present, toward the election of a new doge; and until such election took place, the Arrengo, having in view the unsettled and anarchic state of the republic, determined to vest the supreme power for the time being in the hands of the tribunes Giovanni Sanudo and Giovanni Badoer.

Every effort, which was made to dislodge the dependents and body-guard of Tradenigo from the palace, proved ineffectual. During one entire month, they set completely at defiance the power of the provisional government. During the same period, the people refrained from resorting to violent measures. And on the thirtieth day, the besieged capitulated only on the understanding, that a free settlement was to be assigned to them in the island of Poveja, and that they should enjoy in perpetuity the privilege of choosing their own judges and gastaldi; while, on the part of the crown, the tribunes merely stipulated, that a deputation of the gastaldi and seven of the oldest inhabitants of Poveja should, as a token of fealty, bring to Rialto on the first Friday in each suc-

[1] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 181).

ceeding November an offering of fish to the reigning doge, who was pledged to provide in honour of the delegates, on every anniversary, a public banquet.[1] Sanudo and his colleague did not resign their functions till the latter part of October, 864, when Orso, the son of the former Doge Giovanni, and the grandson of the illustrious Angelo Badoer, was declared the successor of Pietro Tradenigo.

At the period of his assassination, the late doge had already governed Venice eight-and-twenty years, a length of reign unprecedented in the annals of the republic. His son Giovanni, whom, at his accession, he had admitted, with the approbation of the Legislature, to a share in the sovereignty, and who seems to have been of a delicate constitution, was long since dead; and it was fortunate for him in the event, that he lived not to see his country once more a prey to intestine discord, and a parent massacred before his eyes by a pitiless and too powerful faction.

During the long and troubled period, which had elapsed from the deposition of Giovanni Badoer to the accession of his son Orso, two incidents occurred, of which we have hitherto omitted mention. In 856, the Emperor Louis II., when he affixed his seal at Mantua to the ancient charter, under which the Venetian merchants traded in the ports of Lombardy, expressed a wish, and accepted an invitation, to see Rialto; where it is said that he remained the guest of the doge three days.[2] Two

[1] Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 949); Vianoli (*Historia Veneta*, lib. iii. p. 95).
[2] Paolo Morosini (lib. iii. p. 69); Sansovino (lib. i. p. 84).

years before the visit of Louis, Pope Benedict III., driven from the chair of Saint Peter by his rival Anastasius, had sought an asylum and a home in the lagoon;[1] and during his stay at Venice, it appears that Giovanna Morosini, superior of the abbey of Saint Zacchary, succeeded in eliciting from his Holiness a promise of the bodies of Saint Pancras, Saint Sabina, and other precious relics. Shortly after their transmission to their new destination, Tradenigo, allured by the odorous sanctity, which the posthumous abode of so many saints shed around the favoured abbey, paid a devotional visit to Saint Zacchary's; and the abbess, anxious to afford a convincing proof of the opulence and loyalty of the sisterhood, presented to her illustrious guest, on his taking leave, a magnificent diadem, richly ornamented with gems of the choicest water.[2] In the centre was set a large diamond, encircled by four-and-twenty pear-shaped pearls: above the diamond blazed a ruby, the brilliancy of which was such, that it dazzled the eye of the beholder; and in the front of the diadem was woven a gold cross, inlaid with twenty-three emeralds as well as other stones of rare price. Tradenigo accepted the splendid gift with profuse acknowledgments, and with a mixed sensation of pleasure and surprise; and as a lasting token of his gratitude and approbation, he pledged his word that the doges of Venice should repeat the visit and the ceremony in each succeeding year.[3]

[1] Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, v. p. 46); Sabellico (lib. iii. p. 56); Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 180); Marin (vol. ii. pp. 44-5).

[2] Maffei (*Verona illustrata*, ii. p. 219); G. Michieli (i. p. 123 *et seq.*).

[3] Sansovino (lib. xii. pp. 494-5).

Now, the mere fact that, at so early a period a Roman pontiff and a Roman emperor honoured with their presence the Palace of Saint Mark, is not wholly, we conceive, without its significance. Yet we must allow that it is of comparatively slight import. But the account of the jewelled diadem, which the Doge Tradenigo received at the hands of the Abbess Morosini, is really an historical record of considerable value, inasmuch as it affords a clear and striking indication of the zeal and success with which the Venetians had pursued their favourite scheme of oriental commerce, and the rapid growth of the spirit of enterprise, which ultimately led that remarkable people to explore the farthermost shores of the Eastern Ocean.

CHAPTER IV.

THE VENETIAN CHURCH—WILL OF FORTUNATUS, THE RICH PATRIARCH OF GRADO—ORSO BADOER, DOGE—DEFEAT OF THE SARACENS—SCHISM BETWEEN BADOER AND THE HOLY SEE—GIOVANNI BADOER, DOGE—SACK OF COMMACCHIO—PIETRO SANUDO, DOGE—BATTLE OF MUCOLE, AND DEATH OF SANUDO—GIOVANNI BADOER, AGAIN DOGE—PIETRO TRIBUNO OR TRONO, DOGE—DEFEAT OF THE HUNS AT ALBIOLA—ORSO BADOER II., DOGE.

THE reader will remember that, about the middle of the fifth century, a band of fugitives were driven by the Hunnic invasion to seek an asylum in the salt-lagoon, where they, at first, endeavoured to reconcile themselves to their strange and humble lot, by indulging the sense of security, and cherishing the hope of return. But things soon wore a different aspect. An increase of comfort and prosperity within, and the unabated force of external pressure, slowly fostered in the minds of the colonists the latent spirit of patriotism and nationality. The salt-lagoon gradually became populous and tolerably fertile: gradually, by industry and perseverance, the exiles of Padua formed within its narrow boundaries a flourishing, though small, settlement; and on those barren holms, where the fisherman of Rialto used to dry his nets, were set the hearths and altars of a new people.

It is on record that, in 421, a church, in honour of

Saint James, was founded on the isle of Rialto, by the joint efforts of Severianus Daulus, bishop of Padua, Jucundus, bishop of Treviso, Ambrosius, bishop of Altino, and Epo, bishop of Oderzo;[1] that a few years later, in fulfilment of a solemn vow, a second was built at Dorsoduro, and dedicated to the angel Raphael, by Adriana, the wife of a Paduan noble, who had fled to the neighbouring lagoon on the approach of the Huns, with his family and kindred;[2] and that in 452, when Altino itself was on the eve of destruction, the episcopal see was transferred to Torcello. This tradition forms the oldest historical record of the ecclesiastical history of the republic which, with that exception, is a perfect blank till the middle of the sixth century. But subsequently to that period we shall find that the hierarchic system was rapidly developed by the fresh irruptions of barbarians, and the constant influx of immigrants from all parts of the peninsula. In 550, two churches, one in honour of Saint Theodore, the other in that of the martyrs Menna and Geminian, were founded at Rialto,[3] by Narses, the lieutenant of Justinian in Italy, in re-

[1] Dandolo (lib. v. p. 69); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 409).

[2] It appears that the husband, wishing to remain behind till the last moment, sent his wife and children forward, and that the former, anxious for his safety, made a vow, that so soon as he arrived in the lagoon, she would show her gratitude, by founding a church in honour of Raphael. And so this church came to be built.

[3] This church was demolished during the reign of Sebastiano Ziani, to make room for more elegant and uniform buildings; but it was restored in 1557 (we believe, on its former site), in the time of Lorenzo Priuli, with a suitable inscription. See Sansovino (*Ven. Descr.* lib. ii. p. 109).

quital of the zeal, which the islanders had shown in transporting six thousand Lombard mercenaries from Aquileia to Ravenna, in their flat-bottomed vessels. In 577, Paul, patriarch of Aquileia, flying from the persecution of the Lombards, took shelter at Grado, where he built the church of Saint Euphemia. Six years later, Grado became, by virtue of a concordat between his successor and the Holy See (20th April, 583), the metropolitanate of Venice and Istria, and nineteen provincial sees, among which we distinguish those of Padua, Oderzo, Altino, Trieste, Emonia, Concordia, Pola, Parenzo, and Trent, were placed under the care and spiritual rule of the Primate Elias.[1] In 590, Caorlo received John, bishop of Concordia. In 630, no fewer than eight churches were built at Rialto.[2] Eight years afterwards, Paul, bishop of Padua, a fugitive and an exile, sought an asylum, and established a see at Malamocco. And finally, in 650, three churches, dedicated to SS. Sergius and Baccus, Saint Maximus, and Saint Marcellian, were founded by the Torcellese, on the isle of Costanziaco. These early temples to the one God, were rude and inelegant; their domes were not gilded, nor their walls inlaid with fresco, nor their porches exquisitely carved. On the contrary, there is good reason for supposing that, although their interiors might be richly embellished with the treasures, which their founders had saved from the ruins of Concordia and Aquileia, wood[3] was the material

[1] Ughellus (*Italia Sacra*, v. p. 83); Sandi (i. pp. 204-5)

[2] Sansovino (*Chron. Ven.* p. 8).

[3] Indeed the Venetians continued to use it till the beginning of the eleventh century, when an extensive conflagration, which destroyed the

generally employed in their construction, and that their style was, in the last degree, simple and unpretending. Yet the ancient Venetians found them not less fitting or applicable to the rites of a pure and humble religion, than those splendid monuments, which have almost reached our times, of the genius of Titian and Sansovino.

The late concordat with the Holy See, which gave the patriarch of Grado the right of supreme jurisdiction over nineteen episcopal sees in the adjoining provinces of Istria and Dalmatia, was extremely advantageous to the republic, both in a commercial and political respect; impelled by that enterprising spirit, which distinguished them in so marked a degree, the merchants of Venice gradually formed marts and depôts at Zara, Justinople, and the neighbouring cities; their urbane manners and judicious moderation won in their favour a general feeling of confidence and good will; friendships, intimacies, and matrimonial alliances, followed as a natural consequence; and the early connection, which the Venetians thus established, through a spiritual medium, with the Illyric provinces, may be considered as having, in no slight degree, prepared the way for the conquest of Dalmatia in 998 by the Doge Pietro Orseolo II. On the other hand, the rare and enviable privilege accorded by the Roman Pontiff to the Primate Elias, was deemed by many an act of injustice and favouritism, and among those who asserted their juster and higher pretensions to

greater part of the city, led them to employ marble, which they procured, at a cheap rate, in the quarries of Carrara.

the new metropolitanate, the Patriarch of Aquileia was the most powerful and the most pertinacious.

The revival of the patriarchal dignity at Aquileia, in the beginning of the seventh century, is ascribed to the jealous anxiety of Gisulph, the Arian Duke of Friuli, to diminish the power and influence of Candiano,[1] metropolitan of Venice and Istria. But the election of the Abbot John, the first of the Aquilcian patriarchs of the new line, was declared by Pope Boniface the Fourth uncanonical and null, inasmuch as the synod, which chose and ordained that prelate, was convened without the knowledge and sanction of his Holiness; and the pontiff persevered in a refusal to grant or restore the pallium to his successors, until the Lombard king redeemed the favour of the Holy See in 720, by annexing the Cottian Alps to the States of the Church. After the fall of the kingdom of Alboin in the year 800, the patriarchs of Aquileia became sovereigns of Friuli, and feudal lords of Carniola;[2] and they became, at the same time, the most troublesome enemies of the church and commune of Venice. The encroachments of the patriarch of Grado on their see, and the extension of his influence and jurisdiction over Istria, Dalmatia, and Friuli, excited their jealousy, and seemed to justify their depredations; and during a period of nearly six hundred years, the two primates were engaged in a desultory course of petty and piratical warfare, in which

[1] This Candiano, according to Sansovino (*Chron. Ven.* p. 7), came from Rimini.

[2] Sandi (i. p. 358).

the Aquilcian was always the assailant, and generally the loser.

The numerous islands in the salt-lagoon, which constituted the Venetian Dogado, were divided (if we overlook the Gradose patriarchate) into the five bishoprics of Equilo, Torcello, Caorlo, Malamocco, and Citta Nuova, to which were subsequently added those of Olivolo (or Venice) and Chiozza; each of these dioceses owed allegiance, and paid tribute, to the metropolitanate of Grado; and prior to his entry into office, each bishop elect was approved by the doge and the pope, and consecrated by the primate.[1] A Synod, which met, at uncertain intervals, under the presidency of the doge, and which consisted, so far as can be ascertained, of the patriarch of Grado, the bishops, and other high dignitaries of the church, had been organized, at a very remote period, to take cognizance of all matters of a purely spiritual nature, or of any questions, which might arise in connection with ecclesiastical discipline; and on such points the judgment of this assembly was generally considered as final and conclusive. Indeed, during the infancy of the republic, and even till the close of the eighth century, the Venetian clergy enjoyed considerable influence, and, as head of the church, the patriarch of Grado occupied an eminent position in the state. But when the reins of government passed into the hands of the great houses of Badoer and Sanudo, the power of the priesthood sensibly declined; the synod became almost entirely subservient to the will of the

[1] Tentori (iv. p. 180) Paolo Sarpi (*Delle Materie Beneficiarie*, p. 76).

prince, who convoked and dissolved it at pleasure;[1] without his sanction, its acts were accounted void; and on several occasions, when they expressed a dissent from his views, its decisions were wholly disregarded.

In the flourishing state of the *Monarchy*, the reigning house and their adherents, anxious to strengthen their position, and consolidate their power, invariably aimed at engrossing the spiritual, as well as the secular, authority; and consequently, during that period, the doge, the patriarch of Grado, and the bishops of Olivolo and Torcello, were almost always members of the same faction, not unfrequently of the same family.[2] This unjust and mischievous monopoly, so natural in a parent, so necessary in a partisan, created in the public mind a feeling of ill will and discontent, which was much more easily excited than allayed; and it may be considered as one of the leading causes of the decline of the ducal authority.

It might be expected that, under such a rule as that of the Badoeri and Sanudi, the hierarchic system would be somewhat loose and irregular: the fact far surpassed the expectation. No principles of church-government were yet established; no fixed laws were

[1] Dandolo (lib. vii. p. 127). Sandi (i. p. 224).

[2] This remark is best verified by a perusal of the pages of Dandolo, Sansovino, or Sanudo. During the reign of Angelo Badoer, his brother Orso was bishop of Olivolo, his son Giusto was bishop of Torcello, and his son Giustiniani was associated. Again, in the time of the joint reign of Pietro Orseolo II. and his son Giovanni, Orso Orseolo was bishop of Olivolo, and Vitali, of Torcello. Finally, in the time of Ottone Orseolo, his brother Orso was patriarch of Grado, and his other brother Vitali was bishop of Olivolo.

yet laid down for the guidance and control of the priesthood; and, in that primitive age, even the outline of a canon law is scarcely discernible. Bishops were often elected, and deacons ordained, without reference to their merits or qualifications, through the private patronage and personal influence of the doge; several instances occurred,[1] in which the sees of Torcello and Olivolo were filled in that manner by unworthy candidates, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the clergy and the patriarch; and one is recorded where the unction was defiled by the consecration of an eunuch; nor do the incipient measures of ecclesiastical reform, which were introduced toward the middle of the eleventh century, afford a bad proof of the laxity of discipline, which had prevailed before that period.

In connection with the ancient ecclesiastical policy of the Venetian republic, it is just to consider the system pursued, in the early ages of the commonwealth, with regard to monastic institutions; and we shall therefore try to throw some faint light on this obscure and interesting subject. It is evident that holy societies of both sexes were formed in Venice at a very remote period, and that they were founded and endowed, for the most part, by private families, which invariably assumed the

[1] I allude to the cases of Damiatus, a Greek priest, whom Giovanni Calbani made bishop of Olivolo at the age of sixteen; of Domenigo Caloprini, an eunuch, whom Orso Badoer made bishop of Torcello about the year 875; Domenigo Badoer, who became, without the approval of the synod, bishop of Olivolo in 862; Vitali Sanudo, whom his father, Pietro Sanudo, installed in the see of Torcello against the wishes of the clergy; and finally, to the case of Domenigo Gradenigo, a youth of eighteen, who was made bishop of Olivolo in 1025.

right of patronage, and of selecting the superior from their own kindred. In a State, where a few wealthy and illustrious houses, illustrious alike by their birth and attainments, arrogated to themselves the governing power in spiritual as well as in temporal matters, this principle of patronage was almost inevitable; and we shall find that that exclusive and engrossing spirit, by which the policy of Venice was so strongly marked and so greatly influenced in other respects, invaded the privacy of the cloister. In points of general discipline, and in questions of general importance, the Synod or even the *Arrengo* might have a powerful voice, and exercise a legitimate authority; but a charter, to which the doge affixed his seal and sign-manual, protected, in almost every case, the rights of the founder and the freedom of the foundation from the inquisitive zeal of the clergy; and it is a fair supposition that, while the conduct of the recluses was guided by the long-established rules of their respective orders, their maintenance and management jointly devolved on the Prior and the Patron. This loose and independent system, which was applied, with very few, if any, exceptions, to all endowments of a sacred character in Venice, vested very large powers in the hands of the latter, and, at the same time that he freely pronounced them at the public service for purposes of worship or seclusion, the patron failed not to claim the monuments of private munificence as an integral portion of his property or heritage. It also frequently happened that, where several endowments were under the same control, a church was converted at pleasure into a monastery,

whenever such a change suited the convenience or taste of the founder or his representatives; and the violence of party spirit sometimes converted the monastery into a prison.[1] It likewise appears that these holy fraternities were not necessarily exempt from the performance of military service: for we read, in an ancient document, that the Priory of Lovoli was obliged to contribute nineteen *scudati* to the ducal body-guard.[1]

In 586, a monastery, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, was founded by the patriarch Elias in that part of the city of Venice, which was subsequently known as the parish of Santa Maria Formosa. In 790, the house of Badoer built, at their own expense, a church in honour of Saint John the Baptist, and a priory attached, of which they assumed the exclusive patronage. In 816, the same family converted the church of Saint Hilary, in Rialto, into a monastery, which they appropriated to the use of the monks of Saint Leon. In 882, the Doge Memo granted the islet of Saint George to Giovanni Morosini, who was desirous of erecting on that site a Benedictine monastery; and already, in the ninth century, the abbeys of Saint Zacchary[3] and Saint Julian

[1] I allude to the case of Giov. Badoer particularly, and also to that of Pietro Centranigo, who was imprisoned in the same manner in 1032. I may add that out of twenty-six doges, who reigned from 697 to 1192, nine assumed the cowl; of these, again, three were deposed, and six abdicated.

[2] Sansovino (lib. vi. p. 242); Filiasi (*Memorie Storiche dei Veneti Primi e Secondi*).

[3] In 1097, Folco, the son of Azzo II., Marquis of Este, endowed this abbey with some land in Montfelice. *Antichita Estense* (part i. ch. 32); Muratori (*Annali*, vi. p. 380). Moreover, toward the close of the eleventh century, and during the earlier part of the twelfth, the

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had acquired a reputation for sanctity and splendour. In 1132, Giovanni, bishop of Venice, and the son of the Doge Pietro Polani, founded a Cistercian monastery, which he dedicated to Saint Daniel; and lastly, in 1146, Giovanni Trono, having received the grant of a portion of the island of San Giacomo del Paludo, from Orso Badoer, the lord of the manor, erected thereon a cognominal church and priory. The above are a few, among many instances, which might be adduced; but these will suffice to illustrate and verify the foregoing observations, while they give force and encouragement to a new, and consequently diffident, opinion that, from the earliest period of her existence, and in all her ancient institutions, the republic of Venice fostered and betrayed the growth of that oligarchy,[1] which became, in the end, the ruling principle of her government, and the leading cause of her ruin.

emperors of the East, anxious to preserve the friendship, or regain the favour, of the republic, bestowed several valuable gifts on the church of Saint Mark, and on many of the Venetian monasteries. (*See* Laugier, *Histoire de Venise*, i. p. 401.) We also read that, in 1116, Cresimir, king of Croatia, with the approval of the Doge O. Faliero, conferred numerous privileges on Saint John's Abbey, at Belgrado, in Dalmatia. (*See* Sandi, i. p. 436; Muratori, *Dissertationes*, i. no. 17; Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. 11).

[1] The reader will easily perceive a wide difference between the feudal oligarchy before referred to, and this, the oligarchy of the Ten. The former, acting externally and openly, exercised a natural and, in some degree, wholesome influence over the mind of the people at large; the power of the latter, which was a secret spring, a piece of inner mechanism, was built on the morbid feeling of jealousy and distrust, which the members of the aristocracy began, after a time, to conceive for each other. The Grand Council was a distillation of the Arrengo; the Council of Ten was the essence of the Grand Council.

On the flight of the two Galbaii to Mantua, in 804, and the election of his friend and accomplice, the late tribune of Malamocco, the Primate Fortunato had returned to Venice, where he considered that he had every reason to expect a favourable reception. On the other hand, although he might partly owe his success and actual position to the patriarch, Obelerio di Antenori was anxious to disclaim even his former connection with a man, toward whom the people bore a strong dislike as the friend of their bitterest enemy, and from 804 till the battle of Albiola, Fortunato had lived, for the most part, in retirement, at his residence near Campalto, on the banks of the Silis. But, after the defeat of Pepin, and the exile of the Antenori, the patriarch had been invited, by the new Doge Angelo Badoer, to return to his country and his see, and Fortunato remained at Grado in the full enjoyment of his rank and dignity, until, some suspicion or mischance having led to the discovery of a secret correspondence with the French court, he received a peremptory command to quit the Venetian territories for ever. The exile sought an asylum and a home at Constantinople; and he was subsequently sent by the Emperor Michael I., in the quality of an ambassador, to Paris, where he seems to have died,[1] about the year 825. By his will,[2] however, his ample fortune was divided into annuities and bequests to various churches and monasteries in Venice. His serfs, cattle, horses, orchards, and olive-groves, reverted, for the most part, to the church

[1] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 168).

[2] Filiasi (v. p. 315); and Marin (i. p. 270), who quotes it textually.

of Saint Euphemia, which was also enriched with altars of gold and silver, altar-cloths, surplices, chalices, vases and cups of porphyry, and mitres of curious fabric, studded with jewels. The abbey of Saint Julian was endowed with a yearly pension of five hundred and twenty-eight silver ducats (or about £280 of our money). The church of the Virgin at Torcello was covered with a roof of lead, and a certain sum was appropriated, out of the same fund, to the restoration of the churches of Saint Agatha and Saint Peregrine, to the former of which Fortunato likewise bequeathed some land, an annuity of ten silver *lire*, and vestments of linen and silk. Nor does it appear that these liberal bequests were the slow and laborious result of thrift and economy: for there is equally strong evidence in favour of the supposition that, while he continued to enjoy the rank of metropolitan, this rich and sumptuous priest lived at Grado in a style of unexampled magnificence.[1] The will of Fortunato is an extremely valuable and curious document, inasmuch as it throws some light on an otherwise obscure period, and affords us a tolerably clear insight into the nature and extent of the means of a wealthy Venetian of the eighth century.[2] It is perfectly true that all the Venetians were not equally opulent, and it is beyond question that it would be altogether absurd to argue from the individual to the community; but, at the same time it must be borne in mind that we should be grossly

[1] Filiasi (v. p. 38) tells us that, on one occasion, Fortunato brought from Constantinople, two ivory gates: "mirabilmente lavorate e scultc."

[2] See Appendix.

misled, if, at any period of the history of the republic, we employed such an argument, forgetting that, in an aristocracy, the state is merely composed of a few great families, pre-eminent by their riches and influence, and that the whole secret of Venetian policy lay in the gradual absorption of the national wealth and power by the members of those houses, which subsequently formed the Great Council.

Meanwhile, the Bishop of Equilo and his two coadjutors had discharged their important trust; and their report, which was drawn up in a spirit of severe impartiality, had implicated in the murder of the Doge Tradenigo the members of several of the most illustrious families in Venice. It appeared that the plot had been formed by Stefano, and his son Pietro, Sanudo, Giovanni Gradenigo, Domenigo Faliero, Giovanni Lambrescha, Orso Grugnacio, Pietro Flabenigo, Stefano di Sabulo, and a few others, partners of their sentiments and their guilt;[1] and in pursuance of the decision of the three *Avogadors*, the new doge, Orso Badoer, caused Gradenigo, Sabulo, and Lambrescha to be put to death: the rest, with the exception of Grugnacio, who was acquitted, underwent a sentence of perpetual banishment. Grugnacio, however, died shortly afterwards under circumstances of a very singular nature, and the popular tale, that he was suddenly visited and worried by an evil spirit (perhaps, the vindictive ghost of Tradenigo), excites a suspicion that his death was effected by poison. This tribute to the memory and

[1] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 180); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 456); Filiasi (vi. p. 98); Sabellico (lib. iii. p. 58); Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 543).

kindred of his unfortunate predecessor was suggested, undoubtedly, by a sense of duty and a love of justice; yet, although the Sanudi were saved from a public execution by the rational prudence of the doge, it might have been expected that an inquiry and sentence, which cast a foul and dark stain on so many great and noble families, would array against the house of Badoer a large and powerful faction. The career of Orso was, however, long, peaceful, and prosperous; and during a reign of seventeen years, it was his fortune, as well as his glory, to preserve the confidence and love of his fellow-citizens.

The year 864 was distinguished by the despatch of a Venetian fleet in quest of the pirates, who had now begun to infest the whole coast of Istria, Carinthia, and Friuli, and who were said to be lurking, at this juncture, in the immediate neighbourhood of the lagoon. Those bold and enterprising corsairs, whose lawless cupidity acknowledged no principles of human justice, and whose habits of life led them to deride the restraints of civilised communities, found that, in proportion as the Venetians became more wealthy as a nation, piracy became more lucrative as a trade; and they often penetrated with impunity as far as Justinople and Trieste, whence they returned with a rich booty to their strongholds on the coast of Dalmatia. The day of retribution was, however, far distant; and although, in this instance, the island squadron chased the enemy out of the gulf, it does not appear that Badoer achieved any important result.[1] Three

[1] Muratori (*Annali*, v. p. 77); Lebeau (xiii. pp. 270-71); Anonymus Salernitanus (*Chronicon*, p. 8).

years later, Basilius I., the successor of the Greek Emperor Michael III., anxious to preserve and restore the empire of Rome in Italy, concerted with the Western Emperor Louis a plan for the expulsion of the Saracens from that peninsula. But the maritime power of the latter, and the enfeebled condition of his own navy, had led Basilius to the conclusion, that the co-operation of Venice would promote, and might decide, the success of the undertaking; and it was fair to presume that the republic would lend a willing and favourable ear to such a proposal. He judged rightly: the Doge Badoer readily agreed to bear a part in the enterprise; and a fleet, under the command of his son Giovanni, was despatched without delay to the Gulf of Taranto; where the admiral met or awaited the object of his search. His followers beheld the scene of their former defeat; and although the Mussulmen showed their customary valour and address, the energy, with which the hope of retrieving their fortune, and effacing their disgrace, inspired the Venetians, surmounted every obstacle; and the infidels were routed with great loss. The participation of the Greeks in this expedition had been feeble and insincere; their share in the glory was therefore, proportionately, small and ill deserved; and the Emperor Basilius, who had furnished his lieutenant with secret instructions to propose a matrimonial alliance between the daughter of Louis and his son, the young prince of Constantinople, was induced, by the failure of this intrigue, and the triumph of Giovanni Badoer, to recall his squadron to the port of Corinth.[1]

[1] Lupus Protospata (*Chron. Rer. in Regno Napol. Gest.* p. 1); Re-

The Saracens, however, were ill disposed to bear their defeat with complacency; and a league with the Arabs of Candia [1] soon enabled them to repair the losses, which they had sustained at Taranto, and to ascend the gulf in considerable force. They advanced without opposition almost within sight of the harbour of Grado, where they surprised a small craft, which the doge had sent to reconnoitre; the boat was easily captured, and, with a single exception, the crew were barbarously murdered. But the solitary mariner, who had succeeded in effecting his escape, lost no time in making known at Rialto the fate of his companions, the imminent danger of the republic; and Badoer, whose sensitive and ardent spirit kindled at the unexpected intelligence, despatched a small force, commanded, as before, by his son, to relieve Grado, which was in a state of blockade, and to drive the enemy out of the gulf. The latter, however, encumbered with spoil, and shy of encountering the islanders in their native lagoon, more especially under such a leader, anticipated the approach of the Venetian admiral, and hastily retraced their steps towards the Mediterranean. But in the just estimation of his fellow-citizens, this did not lessen the merit, or weaken the claim, of the Prince Giovanni, who had already earned a title to public gratitude by his skilful manœuvres and unaided success at Taranto; and the National Convention found no difficulty in persuading the doge to associate his son in the sovereignty.[2] (867-8.)

rempertus (*Epitome Chronici*, p. 23); Filiasi (vi. p. 99); Marin (ii. p. 49); Sagorninus (*Chron.* p. 42); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 456).

[1] Sabellico (lib. iii. p. 58); Daru (i. p. 95).

[2] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 186) Sabellico (lib. iii. p. 58).

On the death of Senatore, bishop of Torcello, the doge, having elected Domenigo, the son of Leone Caloprini, and an eunuch, as his successor, called on the patriarch of Grado, Pietro Marcurio,[1] to sanction the choice, and hallow the iniquity. But the latter, whose conscience revolted at the consecration of a crime, boldly and firmly refused to comply; Badoer was pressing in his solicitations; Marcurio was inflexible in his purpose; and after a long and vain appeal to the laws of justice and decency, the metropolitan at last quitted Venice, and sought an asylum and an audience at the court of John the Eighth. The pontiff was shocked and disgusted at the nature of the crime; and he immediately sent a message to Rialto, enjoining Caloprini, together with the bishops of Equilo and Malamocco, to repair to Rome, where his Holiness expressed an intention of inquiring into the circumstances of the case. Neither Caloprini, however, nor the other two bishops, who were apparently in his interest, answered the summons, and the pontiff was informed that, while the presence of Peter of Equilo was required elsewhere, on matters of urgency, Felix of Malamocco was prevented by ill health from undertaking so long a journey. But the pope was not so easily satisfied or deceived; and in a second message, Badoer was conjured to facilitate, or, if it were necessary, to enforce, the compliance of these refractory

[1] The son of that Giovanni Marcurio who, it will be remembered, formed, in concert with Orso Badoer and Baseio Storlado, a provisional government during the temporary absence of the Doge Giovanni Badoer, in 835-6. See Sansovino (*Chronico*, p. 15).

churchmen, whose dioceses might be given in charge, as his Holiness suggested, during their absence, to the bishops of Caorlo and Olivolo. The injunction and advice were alike disregarded. No bishops presented themselves. And his Holiness was placed in a most distressing and delicate position. He determined, however, to make one more effort; and the prelates were now invited to appear before a synod, which the pontiff proposed shortly to hold at Ravenna.[1] In this instance, it seems that the doge was induced to give way; but unfortunately, either from accident or design, the bishops did not reach their destination, till the council had risen, and John was persuaded to withhold or revoke his anathema only by the personal intercession of Badoer, seconded, in all probability, by the wholesome reflection that, if he forgave not the offence, he might lose the offenders. Such was the first occasion, on which the Venetians assumed that firm and bold attitude towards the Holy See, from which they never shrank or swerved, even when fortune ceased to smile on the Lion of Saint Mark.

Caloprini enjoyed the title and the revenues of the bishopric of Torcello during the lifetime of Marcurio, and on his decease, in 874, Vettore Badoer, the fifth son of the doge, condescended to purchase the vacant dignity with an oath or a promise, that he would consecrate the mitred eunuch. It appears, however, that during this distasteful operation, the newly elected patriarch, visited by certain qualms of conscience, made a slight attempt to

[1] The feud between Badoer and the pope is recorded by Filiasi (vi. p. 106); Sagorninus (*Chronicon*, p. 44); Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 185).

justify the course, which he had pursued, by passing a severe censure on the unfortunate prelate, and that the pride of Caloprini was cruelly mortified by a pointed and unfeeling allusion, in the presence of a numerous assembly, to his personal defect. It is beyond question that the eunuch was unworthy of the surplice, that his ordination was a dark stain on the memory of Badoer. It is equally clear that nothing could warrant the doge in upholding his claim against every principle of justice and religion. Yet it became not Vettore, who had voluntarily sacrificed his honour to his ambition, to cavil at the sin, and connive at it.[1]

Soon after the close of this scandalous rupture with the court of Rome, Badoer was obliged to equip a second expedition against the Narentines who, with the concurrence and aid of the patriarch of Aquileia, were ravaging the Istrian dioceses of the metropolitanate of Grado (878). The Venetians, whose squadron consisted of thirty galleys, commanded by the doge himself, proceeded a considerable distance along the Dalmatian coast without descrying the objects of their search. But the track of the enemy was too clearly shown by the ruins of Omago, Emonia, Parenzo, and Rovigno; and at length the pirates were observed bearing down on them, elated by the splendid success of their predatory inroads. The struggle, which ensued, though fierce and sanguinary, speedily terminated in favour of the islanders. The buccaneers, in truth, encumbered with spoil, and

[1] Besides the usual authorities, see Cornaro (*Ecclesiæ Venetæ Antiqua Monumenta*, i. p. 1).

fatigued by their previous exertions, were totally defeated. Nor did Badoer neglect the opportunity of making it manifest, that, after gaining a victory, he knew how to use it. Without exception or delay, the stores and other plunder, which fell into his hands, were restored to the sufferers, and the unfortunate Istrians, whom the pirates had led away into captivity, returned unexpectedly in Venetian ships, to console their bereaved families.

Having thus disposed of the pirates, the doge determined to chastise their accomplice, the warlike priest of Aquileia; by his order, all commercial intercourse between Aquileia and the lagoon, was suddenly suspended; and Walpert, driven by a want of the usual supplies to the utmost distress and perplexity, soon justified the step by imploring the clemency of Badoer, and humbly soliciting the removal of the interdict. The doge, on his part, was not wholly inexorable; and it is natural to suppose that his anger was greatly softened by the solemn promise of the patriarch to refrain from molesting the four mercantile depôts, which his Serenity had formed in the market-place of Aquileia. On the other hand, the subjects of Walpert were at liberty to trade, as heretofore, on easy terms, with Pilo and the other parts of Venice; and Badoer pledged his word, that no undue restraint should be placed on their commercial dealings with the republic.[1]

During the same period, the loose nature and irregular levy of the taxes, which composed the public revenue,

[1] Filiasi (vi. p. 120); Sabellico (lib. iii. p. 59); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 457); Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 188).

led the doge to adopt a measure, which promised to improve the condition of the ducal fisc. The payment of tithes was an usage of high antiquity, and we read that, subsequently to 697, it was customary for each house in Venice to bring and lay at the feet of the chief magistrate its due and proportionate share of fish, bread, oil, honey, wine, and the other necessaries of life. But age had tended to impair, rather than increase, the efficacy of this system. Since the increasing importance of the republic had rendered the calls on the national fund heavier, as well as more frequent, it too often happened, that a sudden and untoward emergency betrayed the poverty of the fisc, and accused the neglect of the citizens. And the feeling had become general, that consequences most disastrous to the welfare of the commune would infallibly ensue, unless some cure was speedily found for such a serious and radical evil. It was the design of Badoer to attain the desired object, and obviate the threatened danger, in some degree, by encouraging the Excusati and others to build and settle on the islands of Saint Nicolas, Dorsoduro, and Murano which, owing to their exposed situation, and the consequent dread of piratical incursions, had been theretofore devoted almost exclusively to gardens and pastures; and each proprietor or tenant was required to enter into an engagement to pay to the treasury, as a leasing rent or ground-tax, the tenth [1] part of his yearly income.

At the same time, with the concurrence of the clergy,

[1] Dandolo, (lib. viii. p. 188); Sabellico (lib. iii. p. 59); Filiasi (vi. p. 116); Bernardo Trevisano (*Lag. di Ven.* p. 59).

and the approval of the popular assembly, an edict was issued by Orso, prohibiting the traffic of the merchants in Christian slaves, which had formed, up to the present time, a large and lucrative branch of Venetian commerce; and a heavy fine,[1] or the amputation of a limb, or, in extreme cases, decapitation, was the penalty affixed to the transgression of the new statute. Subsequently to the promulgation of this edict, however, few instances occurred, where the objects of it were convicted of a capital offence, or even where the ends of justice might not be attained without the mutilation of the person; still fewer, in which the culprit was not in a position to expiate his guilt with a seasonable tribute to the ducal fisc; and it must also be taken into account that, at a period when the Executive was necessarily weak and lax, and the influential class, which was most nearly concerned in a question of the kind, had such ample means at their disposal of defeating the legislature, it was frequently beyond the power of the magistrate to enforce the provisions of the law.[2] Yet, although its terms were qualified, and its operation feeble, great credit and honour were due, in our opinion, to the men, who framed this salutary measure, and to a people, who were wise and humane, at least, in their own generation. The decree of 878-80 is the earliest enactment of that nature on record; but it was followed, at intervals, by others of a more severe and stringent descrip-

[1] 20 pounds of gold=1,920 sequins=about 5,280 silver ducats, according to the computation of Marin (i. p. 267).

[2] Saint Marc (*Abrégé Chron.* i. p. 34) tells us that Gregory VII., hearing that some Venetian merchants had bought some Christian slaves at Rome, went to the market and emancipated them.

tion; and we observe with pleasure, that the priesthood were always foremost in advocating the cause of justice and philanthropy.

Orso Badoer died, after a reign of seventeen years, in 881; and the ducal crown seems to have descended, as a matter of course, to his eldest son Giovanni, whom he had admitted, a short time before, to a share in the sovereignty. Besides the new doge, and Vettore, patriarch of Grado, his late Serenity left three sons, Badoer, Pietro, and Orso; and two daughters, Giovanna, abbess of Saint Zacchary, and Felicia, the spouse of Rodoald, duke of Bologna.

Two centuries had elapsed since the fall of the Tribunes, and thirteen doges had already reigned in Venice; yet these magistrates, at first content to preserve the liberty of their country, and afterwards engaged, for the most part, in quelling or promoting civil discord, had never heretofore found the opportunity, or felt the desire, of extending the Venetian dominion beyond the narrow confines of the lagoon; and it consequently remained for Giovanni Badoer II. to give that proof of ambition, and set that example of conquest. The town of Commacchio, situate on an inlet of the Adriatic, several miles below Brondolo, and the seat of a flourishing trade in fish and salt, was held in fief of the court of Rome, at this period, by a son of one of the followers of the Emperor Louis the German. His name was Marino d'Este.[1] And a repeated refusal, on the part of the second count of Commacchio,

[1] Marin (ii. p. 64); Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 950); Muratori (*Ann.* v. p. 49); Faroldo (*Ann. Ven.* p. 51); Morosini (lib. iii. p. 70).

to recognise the obligations of a vassal, had given gradual rise to a feeling between him and his suzerain, which was highly favourable to the views of Giovanni Badoer. The latter readily conceived the idea of turning this convenient disagreement to his own advantage; and while he expressed an anxiety to get rid of a troublesome rival, the doge *secretly* harboured a desire to annex the property of D'Este to the patrimony of the house of Participazio.[1] At the same time, however, he was reluctant to prefer a personal claim; and he therefore resolved to send his brother, Badoer Badoer, to Rome, to negotiate with the Pontiff on *his own* behalf, for the transfer of the coveted fief. The mission of the noble envoy, whose interest in the result gave a peculiar edge to his zeal, was executed with despatch, and attended by success, his Holiness, who had long waited for an opportunity of gratifying his resentment against D'Este, gladly acquiescing in the proposal. But meanwhile the Count, having been apprized of this strange intrigue, had organised, in concert with the Ravennese, a plot against the unsuspecting and unwary Badoer; and as the latter was proceeding homeward through Ravenna, he was caught in an ambuscade, mortally wounded in a desperate, yet vain, struggle with his captors, and conducted to Commacchio, where he was kept by his rival in close confinement, till the poignancy of suffering and the sense of approaching dissolution, drew from him an unwilling promise that as the condition of his immediate liberation, he would

[1] The house of Badoer was also known as the house of Participazio, in the early days of the republic.

forgive the injury, and forget the hand, that had done it. The unfortunate prince returned to his native city to die; on his deathbed, he denounced Marino d'Este as the perpetrator of the deed; and his brother, the doge, incensed beyond measure or control, by so gross an outrage and so serious a disappointment, immediately repaired with an armed squadron to Commacchio. D'Este had fled; his domains fell an easy prey to the sword of the invader; and the authority of the magistrates, whom the doge left in charge of the place, was supported by the presence of a Venetian garrison.[1] Nor was Badoer disposed to overlook the collusion of Ravenna in the recent affair. And that ancient capital of the Greek exarchate was made to atone with her blood for the succour, which she had afforded to her feeble and unfortunate neighbour. Still the object, which the doge had had in view, was entirely defeated by the death of his brother; and although it might be considered expedient to abandon the design of converting Commacchio into an inheritance for the Participazii, or of incorporating it with the republic, the failure of the scheme was severely mortifying to the proud and sensitive spirit of Badoer: nor is it unlikely that it was instrumental, in part, in forming his subsequent determination to withdraw from public life.

The health of Giovanni had, indeed, been long feeble and delicate. The cares of government had become irksome and oppressive. The berretta had begun to weigh

[1] Filiasi (vi. p. 122); Verus (lib. i. p. 23); Faroldo (*Annali*, p. 51). And compare Sabellico with Sanudo and Dandolo.

heavily on his brow. And the natural irritability of his temper was aggravated by the thought, that he had no son, to whom he might secure the succession, and who, in his declining years, might discharge the active duties of the magistracy. On the other hand, his brothers, Pietro and Orso, were still living; and shortly after the unfortunate affair at Commacchio, the doge had intended to associate the former in the sovereignty. But unhappily, the sudden death of the Prince Pietro forestalled him in his purpose; and his remaining brother having refused, from modesty or indolence of disposition, to accept the proffered trust, Giovanni hesitated no longer in declaring his wish to abdicate. The announcement might produce a feeling of regret and surprise; it encountered no remonstrance, no opposition; and at the suggestion, or with the sanction, of the ex-doge himself, Pietro Sanudo, a citizen of Rialto, was summoned from his private dwelling to the palace (17th April, 887), where Badoer delivered to him with his own hand the sceptre of ivory, and placed on his brows the ducal berretta. The new doge was in the forty-fourth year of his age; and his accession to the throne, in the healthy prime of manhood, gave his subjects and kindred every promise of a long reign.[1]

On the receipt of the intelligence, however, in the following August, that the corsairs of Narenta were again hovering on the skirts of the lagoon, the Doge Sanudo,

[1] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 192) sums up thus the character of this doge: —"Vir fuit bellicosus, et audax, sapiens, et admodum largus; ecclesiarum vero in tantum devotus, ut nullo tempore currente divino officio defuerit."

who was of an enterprising and chivalrous character, assumed the command of twelve galleys, and sailed along the coast of Dalmatia, in quest of those constant and natural enemies of a mercantile community. After a long and apparently vain search, the pirates were at length descried in the bosom of a bay off Mucolè, near Zara; he instantly directed his course toward them; and the approach of the Venetians served, by cutting off the retreat, to animate the courage, of the Narentines. The first onset of the latter was consequently fierce and tremendous; the islanders were scarcely able to withstand the shock; and this prelude of success was such as might inspire the hope of an easy triumph. But the expectation was deceptive and short-lived; the voice and example of a sovereign infused into the followers of Sanudo a spiritual energy, which seemed exhaustless and indomitable; and after a severe loss, both in men and ships, the buccaneers were compelled to acknowledge the superior prowess and fortune of their opponents, by retreating in disorderly haste to the shore. Saint Mark and the Venetians had triumphed. It remained for the doge to use the victory. He had secured a portion, he determined to destroy the remainder, of the enemy's fleet; and with that blind, restless ardour, which was natural in him, he took an active and prominent part in the operation. While he was thus engaged, heedless of the pirates who were watching his movements from the land, a well-directed shaft pierced his breast; he fell without a groan; and his troops, panic-stricken at the sight, hurriedly consigned the body of their brave and noble leader to Andrea Tri-

buno,[1] one of his relatives, and set all sail for Grado, abandoning with a sigh, the spoils and trophies of their success. But the corsairs were on the alert; to regain their vessels, and pursue their pursuers, was the work of an instant; and they ceased not to harass the flight of the islanders, until the latter had passed the sacred barrier of the salt-lagoon. There the half-superstitious dread of losing their way in a labyrinth of sand, dissuaded a nearer approach; and the Narentines, fortunately unconscious of the splendid success, which might have attended an inroad at that juncture, leisurely retraced their steps seaward. Such was the final issue of the battle of Mucole, and such was the sad fate of the first Venetian prince of the house of Sanudo, after a brief reign of five months. Yet the death of a soldier is allowed by the general consent of mankind to be the most glorious consummation of our earthly career, and certainly, in the case of Pietro Sanudo, that glory was enhanced not a little by the fact that *his* death afforded the earliest instance, in which the Doge of Venice had died for the republic.

Meanwhile, the news of the battle, and the remains of the doge, had reached Rialto; the whole capital was thrown into a state of terror, excitement, and suspense, owing, in a great degree, to the apprehension, that the enemy, who had followed closely in the track of the fugitives, might soon be at the very stairs of the Piazzetta; and the people felt, that the choice of a new sove-

[1] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 192); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 458); Sabellico (lib. iii. p. 61).

reign was a question, which demanded and deserved more mature consideration, than the pressure of existing circumstances seemed to warrant. On this emergency, they formed the resolution of soliciting Giovanni Badoer to return to the palace and the throne, which he had so recently quitted; and, although the health of the ex-doge had become exceedingly weak and precarious, he consented, from deference to the wish of his fellow-citizens, to resume the reins of government, until they had finally decided on the succession. This important matter, however, led to a long or desultory debate, and Badoer had already reigned provisionally six months and thirteen days, when he was informed that Pietro, the son of Domenigo Tribuno, or Trono, by Angela, the niece of the late Pietro Sanudo, and the child of the hapless Tradenigo, was nominated doge[1] (April, 888).

[1] A few writers, I find, place Domenigo Tribuno, or Trono, before his son, giving him a reign of one year, from April 888 to April 889; but I do not see sufficient reason to differ from the general opinion, although I should only follow the footsteps of Filiasi, Tentori, Vianelli, and Sansovino. Still, none of these writers venture to give this Domenigo a place among the doges of Venice, merely expressing an opinion in favour of his claim. The whole argument rests on a charter, granted to the Chiozzians, in 888, and signed by Domenigo Tribuno, doge, and his three sons, Pietro, Giovanni, and Domenigo. This document was declared a genuine one by Orso Badoer II. in 930, by Reinero Zeno in 1255, and by Giovanni Gradenigo in 1293. The fact is curious, and the evidence strong, yet, on the whole, I only feel justified in introducing the matter in this way. Daru says nothing about it, nor Laugier, nor Galibert, nor Marin. I may also mention that Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 459) and Galibert (ch. iv. p. 36) go too far in calling Trono the *nephew* of the late Doge Pietro Candiano or Sanudo, since his mother was only the niece of that prince. See Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 192); Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 546).

The vague and imperfect nature of the records, which have reached our times, of the early history of Venice, renders it impossible to give, with any degree of minuteness, an account of the long and memorable reign of Pietro Trono, which extended from 888 to 912. It seems, however, that during the eighteen years, which, elapsed from the final resignation of Giovanni Badoer II., the internal condition of the republic was uniformly peaceful and thriving; the natives of the salt-lagoon, unharassed by faction, continued to pursue their customary avocations with zeal and success; and under the auspices of commerce and industry, the Venetian state began to flourish and increase. Yet the doge and his subjects, regarding with a watchful and anxious eye the progress of events in the peninsula, were uncertain and distrustful of the future. Although, amid the violent changes, which had taken place in the government of Italy since the death of Charlemagne, their commune had hitherto succeeded in maintaining her neutrality without endangering her freedom, the Venetians were too wise to conceal from themselves the likelihood, that they might ultimately be obliged to deviate from that pacific policy, that it might become necessary for them to interpose a gauntlet of steel between their homes and a foreign, perhaps a barbarian, invader; and they prudently determined not to neglect the present opportunity of providing, to the utmost of their power, for any sudden emergency. The fortification of the islands which, with the single exception of the fort erected at Brondolo in 750 by the Doge Diodato Orso, were still wholly defenceless, engaged,

therefore, the immediate attention of Trono; by his direction, chains of great strength, removeable at pleasure, were thrown across the mouths of the canals, and secured at either side, by stakes firmly planted in the ground, or by staples fixed in the walls of adjacent buildings; and the islet of Olivolo, encircled by a broad and lofty rampart, assumed, at the same time, the form of a citadel, and the name of *Castello*.[1] The threatening aspect of affairs in the peninsula, which had now been, during the greater part of two centuries, a prey to anarchy and civil discord, fully justified these precautions; and even the deposition of Charles the Thick, in 888, which had been hailed by all classes of his subjects as an augury of peace, merely led to a war of succession between Berenger, duke of Friuli, and Guido, duke of Spoleto. In the same year, however, the former received the imperial crown from the Pope, Stephen V.; and in 892, he was succeeded by his former competitor, who resigned the throne of the West two years later to his own son Lambert.[2] These frequent changes did not escape the notice of the Venetians, who felt it to be their interest, as a trading community, to conciliate the favour and commercial patronage of each new sovereign. We read that, in May, 883, Giovanni Badoer, through his ambassador, Lorenzo Barbarotello, bishop of Olivolo,[3] obtained from Charles the Thick the quinquennial[4] renewal of the treaty, accorded

[1] Galibert (ch. iv. p. 36).

[2] Luitprand, bishop of Pavia (*Hist.* lib. i. ch. x., and lib. ii. ch. xiii.); Sismondi (*Rep. Ital.* i. p. 31, *et seq.*); Denina (*Revol. d'Italia*, ii. lib. ix. ch. i.); Muratori (*Annali*, v. p. 273).

[3] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 188-9); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 457).

[4] The system of renewing the charter every five years was introduced, according to Dandolo, by Lothar, the son of Louis the Pious, in 840.

and confirmed to the republic by the Lombard kings; and in 889, the Doge Trono easily prevailed on Guido, whose friendship and influence the islanders appear clearly to have judged more useful than that of the papal emperor, to set his seal to the terms of that compact.[1]

Under these circumstances, the republic of Venice entered on the tenth century of the Christian era, the fifth of her own existence; and, notwithstanding the forebodings and precautions of the doge and his people, everything seemed to bear promise of a long continuance of that tranquillity, which their commune had enjoyed, almost without interruption, since the battle of Albiola, when it was suddenly announced that a large horde of Huns, tempted by the prospect of an easy conquest and a rich spoil, were approaching Lombardy, spreading havoc and desolation along their whole line of march[2] (906).

That extensive country, lying between the Adriatic and the Alps, which had once been so wealthy and so powerful, was now, however, too feeble to stay the progress, too barren to appease the avarice, of an invader; and a report reached the ears of the barbarians, that on the shore of the gulf dwelt a people, whose opulence surpassed their wildest visions of gain. It was consequently soon known at Rialto, that the Huns were con-

[1] The republic does not seem to have taken the slightest notice of the coronation of Duke Berenger; and if we consider the judgment, tact, and discrimination, which distinguished the Venetian policy from the beginning, we shall be led to suspect that the diadem, which the pope placed in 888 on the head of the Duke of Friuli, was little more than a bauble.

[2] Laugier, Marin, and Tentori, think that the Huns were invited into Italy in 906, by Lambert, who died in 898.

templating a descent on the Island City. The intelligence diffused the greatest agitation and alarm. The feeling became general, that a new crisis was impending for Venetian liberty and independence. And Trono, justifying by his self-possessed and undaunted bearing, in that trying moment, the choice of his fellow-citizens, resolved at once to lose no time in awakening the people to a sense of their duty as well as their danger. Addressing the Arrengo, the doge appealed in few, but impressive, words, to the noble origin of the Venetians, and the immemorial freedom of the republic; he recalled to their recollection the deeds and misfortunes of their ancestors, and the terrible sacrifices, which the exiles of Padua had made to liberty; he exhorted them, above all, not to forget the battle of Albiola, where Angelo Badoer, the tribune of Rialto, had defeated King Pepin; and he assured them (with more gravity, however, than truth) that, should their efforts not be attended by success, they would not only be slain, but *devoured*, by a horde of ferocious cannibals.[1] Who (he wished to know) would not fight in defence of his home and his country, against such a foe?

In the mean time, Chiozza, Pelestrina, Citta Nuova, Malamocco, and Equilo were laid in ruins, and the invaders had almost approached as far as Albiola, before the doge advanced with his fleet to oppose their farther

[1] Bonifacio (*Stor. di Trevigi*, p. 118), Dalla Corte (*Stor. di Verona*, ii. p. 158), and Laugier (*Hist. de Ven.* i. p. 291), mention this as a figure of speech, without confuting it as an absurdity. Every reader of Gibbon is aware that the Huns ate very little flesh, and that they were no more anthropophagous than the Arabs of the present day.

progress. Happily for the Venetians, the Huns, imagining that an attack on the side of the sea would be easiest and most effectual, had rashly undertaken the management of the barks, which they found in the ports of the deserted cities of Padua, Concordia, and Aquileia; and, in this manner, the barbarians, wholly ignorant of the art of navigation, unconsciously placed in the hands of their intended victims a weapon, which the latter knew how to turn to the best advantage. The countrymen of Attila were, in all probability, unaware of the close proportion which existed between the wealth and the power[1] of the republic, that, while the Venetian commune became more worthy, it also grew more difficult, of conquest; and they might expect to subdue with ease that little band of fugitives, whom their great king had spared so unwillingly in 452. They were, however, quickly undeceived. Led by their chief magistrate himself, who had, in the hour of danger, promptly exchanged the sceptre and the ducal bonnet for the sword and helmet, the Venetians glided softly forward in their flat vessels over the shallow waters; and those active mariners, profiting to the utmost by their local knowledge and dexterity, easily succeeded in dispersing and destroying the fragile and unwieldy barks of the Huns, the greater part of whom sank, and were suffocated beneath the oozy surface of the salt-lagoon. The rest effected a precipitate and vague retreat to the mainland; and even of these, few were fortunate enough to regain their native homes on the

[1] I estimate the population of the islands in 906 at between 35,000 and 40,000 souls: in 1170, it had reached 64,000.

banks of Lake Mœotis, or the shore of the Caspian. The rout of the enemy was speedy and complete; and it afforded the second instance, in which the republic of Venice was indebted for her very existence as a state, to her isolated situation, to the secret and dangerous intricacy of the narrow channels, which alone gave access to her capital, and to the extraordinary resolutions, which the noble love of independence, and the sense of unprovoked wrong, inspire in the mind of a free people. Still, the losses of the victors were far from trivial. By the ravages of fire and the sword, several islands were reduced to smoking and desolate ruins; a considerable portion of the public property was utterly destroyed, and many of the citizens were left without shelter, some without the means of subsistence. But the Venetians were too thankful for the great success, which they had gained, to indulge in vain regrets, or give way to effeminate lamentations; and they cheerfully proceeded to restore their buildings, and resume their occupations. Nor did they omit to testify their gratitude to him, who had stimulated their[1] exertions on that memorable day; and who might be justly considered as the second saviour of his country.

With the fearful exception recorded above, the reign of Petro Trono was peaceful and prosperous; and during the ensuing six years, this excellent prince continued to enjoy in tranquillity the high and respectable dignity, to which his extraordinary services gave him an undoubted

[1] Sagorninus (*Chronicon*, p. 57); Marin (i. p. 73); Tentori (iii. p. 225); Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 197); Verus (lib. vi. pp. 25-6.

title. The death of Trono, which occurred in 912, created in the public mind a profound sensation of grief and regret; the nation dropped a willing tear over the grave of one so amiable and so illustrious; and we, for our part, do not doubt, that the glory, which he won at the battle of Albiola, will live and endure as long as the name of Venice itself. The successor of Trono in the chief magistracy was Orso, the son of a younger brother of the late Doge Giovanni Badoer II.

CHAPTER V.

ORSO BADOER II., DOGE—FEUD WITH THE MARQUIS OF ISTRIA—PIETRO SANUDO II., DOGE—RAPE OF THE VENETIAN VIRGINS—PIETRO BADOER, DOGE—GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE BADOERI—PIETRO SANUDO III., DOGE—ASSOCIATES HIS SON PIETRO—EXCESSES AND BANISHMENT OF THE LATTER—HIS RECALL AND ACCESSION—HIS REIGN, TYRANNY, AND VIOLENT DEATH—PIETRO ORSEOLO, DOGE—VITALI SANUDO, DOGE—TRIBUNO MEMO, DOGE—FEUD BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC AND OTHO II.—CONSPIRACY OF STEFANO CALOPRINI—DEPOSITION OF MEMO (991).

THE first act of Orso Badoer II., the successor of Pietro Trono, was the notification to the Eastern Emperor of his election to the chief magistracy; and his only son Pietro was the person, whom he judged fittest on such an occasion, to represent the doge and republic of Venice. The noble envoy was received by Constantine (the fourth of that name) with every mark of consideration due to his rank and character; he was created a Protospatarius, which was accounted, at least in the Byzantine court, a very honourable distinction; and on taking leave of his august host, he was loaded with gifts and compliments. In those days, the shortest and safest route from Constantinople to Rialto was by sea; the passage usually occupied from twenty-five to thirty days; and the Venetian traders, whose argosies were lying at anchor in the Golden Horn, would have vied with each other in readiness to bear the son of the doge to the house of his

father. But Pietro who, in proceeding from Venice to the East, had, in all probability, merely availed himself of the casual departure of some outward-bound merchantman, might be well weary of the long voyage, and, on that account, desirous of a change; the novelty and risk of the overland journey excited the love of adventure, and overruled more prudent counsels; and contrary to the advice of the Greeks, who strongly dissuaded him from traversing an unfrequented and dangerous tract of country, he resolved to return home through Dalmatia. His rash obstinacy cost his father dear: for he had scarcely accomplished the half of his journey, when he was caught in an ambuscade, stripped of his presents and ornaments, and conducted to the court of Simeon, king of Bulgaria. That monarch, looking on the offer of a profitable exchange as tolerably certain, was well pleased at the capture; and the unfortunate youth was detained a close prisoner in the hands of the barbarian, until the doge, hearing of his fate, and learning his place of confinement, despatched Domenigo Flabenigo, archdeacon of Malamocco, with a heavy ransom, to purchase his release. Simeon accepted the money; Badoer recovered his liberty; and the vacant see of Malamocco was not considered by a grateful parent too high a recompense for the services of Flabenigo. Moreover, we find that, in 921, the man who thus owed his bishopric to a lucky piece of diplomacy, was sent to Pavia, in conjunction with Stefano Caloprini, to procure from Hugo, king of Italy, the quinquennial renewal of the mercantile charter of the republic, and that, five years

later, they were again jointly accredited to the court of Hugo's successor, Rodolph, from whom they obtained, in addition to the usual immunities and privileges, the valuable promise that, for the future, Venetian money should enjoy a free currency throughout the peninsula. Bishop Flabenigo afterwards embraced the conviction, that a visit of devotion to Jerusalem was a pleasure or a penance, which every Christian ought to taste or perform; and we hear that he died in the Holy City. Orso Badoer did not long survive his minister. In 932, after a reign of twenty years, which, with the two exceptions we have mentioned, had been wholly devoid of incident, the doge, sensible of the approach of death, withdrew into the monastery of San Felice, on the isle of Amiano, where he expired shortly afterwards. He was succeeded by Pietro, the son of that Pietro Sanudo, who fell at Mucole in the service of the republic. At the time of his father's death, in 888, the new doge was still a child, and in now raising him to the chief magistracy, his fellow-citizens discharged a debt, which they had long owed to the house of Candiano.

The dissolution of the fabric of society, consequent upon the invasion of the Roman empire by the Northern barbarians, had favoured the rise and growth of several petty principalities in Lombardy and Dalmatia; and among other minor potentates, Winther, a Slavian chieftain, had assumed the title, and usurped the rights, of Marquis of Istria. But the inhabitants of that province soon found their new and self-elected sovereign a savage and capricious despot, to whose rapacious avarice, and

arbitrary cruelty, there was neither limit nor control; and the Venetian merchants, who had formed settlements at Justinople and in its neighbourhood, profiting by the general feeling of disgust, which the conduct of Winther had created in the minds of his subjects, easily prevailed on that and several other towns, to raise the standard of revolt against the oppressor, and to transfer their allegiance to the Doge Sanudo. The offer was readily made, and as readily accepted. Justinople became a fief of the republic; and the protection of the Venetian flag was purchased with an annual tribute of eight hundred gallons of wine. The rage and indignation of the Marquis Winther, when he received information of the treaty, concluded without his consent, between the doge and his former subjects, were unbounded; and he neglected no means, which lay in his power, of showing and indulging his resentment. But an edict, which suspended all commercial intercourse with Istria, speedily reduced him to submission; and he was forced by the want of the various supplies, which he was in the habit of receiving from the lagoon, to implore and accept the clemency of Sanudo. An event of another nature, which occurred about the same period, afforded that prince an ample opportunity of showing his courage and self-possession.

It was an ancient usage among the Venetians, for twelve poor virgins, endowed by the State, to be united to their lovers, every year, on Saint Mary's Eve, in the church of Saint Peter the Apostle, at Olivolo. On this auspicious day, the parents, friends, and kinsfolk of the betrothed, used to assemble betimes on that island; and

from an early hour, barks gaily decorated with flowers and streamers, might be seen gliding along the canals, bearing the happy couples, their dowers, and marriage presents, to Saint Peter's. On the occasion, to which we are about to refer, the corsairs of Trieste, who were well acquainted with the annual custom, had resolved to profit by the helpless state of the joyful train, and to ravish the Daughters of Saint Mark. With this object in view, the pirates, who were under the command of their chief Gaiolo,[1] concealed themselves, on the eve of the festival, in that part of the quarter of Olivolo, which was subsequently chosen as the site of the public arsenal, but which, at the period of which we are speaking, was wholly uninhabited; and on the following morning, so soon as the solemn procession, followed by a crowd of women and children, had entered the church, they quitted their hiding-place, crossed the narrow canal, and leaped ashore. The ceremony had already commenced, and the brides were about to be given away, when the doors of Saint Peter's were suddenly burst open, and the place filled with armed men who, forcing the terrified maidens from the foot of the altar, bore them across the sacred threshold, deposited them, almost bereft of sense, in their barks, and set all sail for the port of Trieste. Sanudo who, by virtue of his office, was acting, on that memorable occasion, as the proxy of the Patron Evangelist, regarded this extraordinary interruption with mingled rage and astonishment: it was an act of violence and audacity, to which the annals of the commonwealth afforded no parallel. He remembered, however, that now every moment

[1] *Estratti della Cronaca di Marco*, No. 26.

was precious; the marauders had already gained a considerable distance; and, hurrying from the building, followed by the injured lovers, the doge hastened through the streets, and summoned the people to arms. In this emergency, a few vessels belonging to the corporation of Trunk-Makers, who occupied a quarter in the parish of Santa Maria Formosa, were offered to the chief magistrate and his companions; and the latter, grasping their oars with that strength which men borrow from despair, were soon lost to sight. The pirates, on their part, were still in the lagoon of Caorlo, when they beheld their pursuers close in the wake; and the Venetians, availing themselves of their local knowledge and dexterity, quickly overtook and secured the delinquents.[1] The vengeance of the bridegrooms was terrible, yet just; not an Istrian escaped; and the girls, rescued from the rude hands of their ravishers, were led back in triumph to Olivolo, where they endeavoured to forget their fright and alarm in pageants and festivities, to which, it may be believed, the recent misadventure gave peculiar zest. In each succeeding year, to commemorate that singular catastrophe, a solemn procession of young virgins, attended by the doge and the clergy, paid a visit of ceremony to the parish Santa Maria Formosa, where they received a hospitable welcome from the Trunk-Makers. And although the vicissitudes and heavy reverses, which were terminated by the battle of Chiozza, led the Seignory to discontinue the custom for some time, it was afterwards renewed with equal fervour and greater licentiousness.

[1] The creek, where the pirates were overtaken, is still known as the *Porto delle Donzelle*.

Towards the close of his reign, some Venetian vessels, which were trading in the port of Commacchio, having been detained by the treachery or caprice of the inhabitants, Sanudo determined to institute a personal search for the missing property; and he accordingly appeared before that place with a fleet of armed galleys. The vessels were speedily recovered; a considerable portion of the town was given up to pillage. And not only were those, who were found to be implicated in the outrage, put to death, but the sons of the principal citizens were selected by the doge to be kept as hostages, until their parents should agree to renounce their independence, and recognise the sovereignty of Venice. The Commachese did not show much hesitation in taking their course; a deputation was soon afterwards despatched to Rialto, to take the oath, and redeem the security; and thus Commacchio actually became a Venetian fief, near sixty years after her nominal annexation to the republic by Giovanni Badoer II.

Pietro Sanudo II. was succeeded, in 939, by Pietro Badoer, the only son of the late Doge Orso, and in his earlier years, as we have seen, a prisoner in the hands of the King of Bulgaria. The reign of Pietro Badoer was brief and obscure; and while he swayed the ivory sceptre, no event appears to have taken place, which might disturb the peaceful exercise of his authority. But it is worthy of remark that, when he died in 942, the house of Badoer had ceased to reign. Pietro was the last of his illustrious race, who ascended the throne of Venice; and although the heirs of Angelo Participazio were, in

aftertimes, often invested with offices of high and responsible dignity, they were never invited to assume the emblems of sovereignty. It may not be amiss to dwell, for a moment, on their long and not inglorious career.

One hundred and thirty-three years had elapsed, since the ducal crown was accorded to Angelo, the first of the line, as a mark of public gratitude for his services at Albiola; and during the greater part of that period, his descendants (seven in number) had held, for and by the people, an authority not less absolute, so long as it lasted, than that of our own royal houses of Tudor and Stuart. Yet, although they were sometimes led by force of will, or in moments of frenzy, to commit acts of an arbitrary and unwarrantable nature, they exercised their power, for the most part, with equity and moderation; and under their rule, Venice, it must be remembered, enjoyed, almost without interruption, the invaluable blessing of domestic tranquillity. Among those princes a strong and striking resemblance is discernible, especially when we consider the difference of time and circumstance. Their minds were of a nearly similar texture. Their characters were cast in a nearly similar mould. We may observe the same gifted understanding, swayed by the same ungovernable passions; the same quickness of comprehension, almost amounting to genius; the same firmness of purpose, often degenerating into obstinacy; the same irritable and impetuous temper; the same freedom from meanness and profligacy; the same keen sensitiveness to insult, and fierce impatience of control. In their calm moments, few men acted with more wisdom

and judgment than the Badoeri; few wandered farther from the path of reason, when they fell under the influence of some strange impulse, or some strong passion. None of the Venetians were more haughty and reserved in manner, more exclusive and aristocratic in feeling; yet none were more remarkable for their piety towards God, and their charity towards the poor. None of the doges, who reigned in Venice, were more assiduous in paying the homage, which they knew to be due by man to his Creator; none more rigid in exacting that, which they conceived to be due to themselves, by their fellow-men. In short, the sovereigns of the house of Badoer were of a proud, vehement, and irascible temper; but brave, equitable, virtuous; of a disposition, ardent, yet not licentious, vindictive, yet not cruel; devout and punctilious in the offices of religion, in the exercise of power, moderate, but arbitrary. With all the faults, however, which they had in common with other men of a noble nature, creatures of a frail kind, the Badoeri, by their high sense of honour, their spotless integrity, their unselfish patriotism, their watchfulness over the glory and advantage of their country, and, at last, by their long public services, gained the affection and confidence of the Venetians; and in a State, where so much stress was laid on nobility of birth, the people were always disposed to view with indulgence the conduct of a magistrate, whose forefathers were tribunes of Rialto in the time of Theodoric the Goth. In aftertimes, when the doors of the Great Council were closed against all *new men*, and the patrician order was divided into classes, the heirs of the victor of

Albiola assumed the designation of *Evangelisti*, and, next to the Contarini and the Morosini, claimed precedence over all the Venetian aristocracy.

The last crowned scion of the Badoeri was succeeded, in 942, by Pietro, the son of Pietro Sanudo II.

The first six years of the reign of Pietro Sanudo III., form a blank in the page of history; no record of any remarkable occurrence during that period, has reached our times; and the next incident, which seems to have attracted the notice of the merchants of Venice, was the succession of Berenger II., in 948, to the throne of Italy. That change gave rise to a natural solicitude, on the part of Sanudo and the republic, to procure the customary recognition of the mercantile charter; and the new emperor, who received the Venetian deputies at Pavia, not only granted their request to that effect, but expressed his readiness to reduce the import duty on Venetian goods from one tenth to one fortieth part of the whole value, provided that their countrymen agreed to protect the maritime frontier of the empire, with a naval force, from the constant incursions of the Dalmatian pirates. This liberal and advantageous offer was accepted without hesitation by Sanudo and the Popular Assembly; and in 949, a squadron of twenty-four sail, under the joint command of Orso Badoer and Pietro Orseolo, was consequently ordered to cruise along the coast between the lagoon and the city of Ragusa. Nothing of importance, however, was done till the following year, when the Narentines, having ventured on a regular engagement, were forced by a total rout to sue for peace. The advantage

was followed by the humiliation of Lupo, patriarch of Aquileia, who had presumed to encroach on the right of the metropolitan of Venice over the provincial dioceses situate in Istria; and the simple expedient, which had recently produced so powerful and instantaneous an effect on the Marquis Winther, was applied, in this instance, with an equally successful result.

The Doge Sanudo had three sons, of whom the eldest, Domenigo, already enjoyed the see of Torcello, and the youngest, Vitali, was still a youth. The second, however, who inherited the name of Pietro, was in the full vigour of manhood; and in 948, his father, unaware of his secret inclinations and tastes, admitted him with proud satisfaction to a share in the sovereignty. But Pietro Sanudo IV. had only dissembled his vices without regret, because he hoped to indulge them afterwards without control; and accordingly, so soon as he was called to exercise, he hastened to abuse, the power, which was vested in the chief magistrate of the Venetians. The surprise of the doge was great, his sorrow and anguish were greater, when he discovered these tendencies in one, whom he loved so tenderly, and whom he was naturally led to regard as his successor. The weight of declining years had compelled him, in the meanwhile, to choose a colleague, who might partly discharge the functions, and partly support the dignity, of his office; love, as well as ambition and policy, had prompted him to seek that colleague in his son, and that son was soon hated and despised by every class of the community, on account of his wicked and depraved disposition. Shunned and abhorred by all good citizens, the new doge was obliged

to select his associates among those, who could lose nothing, and might gain much, by such a high, though infamous connection; from men of inferior rank and congenial temperament, Sanudo received ready aid and applause in any act of injustice and violence, which he might choose to perpetrate; and under such a leader, that licentious crew plunged into every species of extravagance, which promised to gratify their passion or caprice. The burgesses were robbed and oppressed; their wives and daughters were violated; the peace and happiness of families, that had before known neither sorrow nor shame, were ruined irreparably; places, which had been the usual resort of persons of grave and modest deportment, were converted into scenes of riot, tumult, and bloodshed; and everything, which civilized communities are wont to hold most dear, and to deem most sacred, was treated with levity and insult by a lawless and profligate faction.[1] But the Venetians beheld not without deep concern the revival, after the lapse of a century and a half, of that shameless libertinism, which had cast so much odium on the reign of Giovanni and Maurizio Galbaio; and as these outrages grew more frequent in occurrence, and more serious in character, the murmurs of the citizens became more distinct, their censure, more loud; the most indolent began to complain; the most timid ventured to expostulate; and men of ordinary prudence and sagacity would have lost no time in acting on the warning, so clearly conveyed in this strong expression of popular discontent. Yet, such was the obstinacy and infatuation of Sanudo,

[1] Marin (iii. pp. 155-6); Tentori (iii. p. 231).

that he derided the admonition, and persisted in the same line of conduct, till the Arrengo, arriving with that slowness, which is natural in large deliberative bodies, at the just conclusion, that these gross and indecent excesses gravely reflected on the natural honour, and were greatly detrimental to the public advantage, determined to endure no longer an evil, which they had endured already too long. The reprobate was consequently taken, tried, and convicted; the evidence was conclusive, the judgment, summary; and the flagitious nature of the charges, which were brought against him, called for nothing less than the infliction of capital punishment. The tears and entreaties of the venerable doge, however, saved his son, and the name of Sanudo, from the extreme and unparalleled ignominy[1] of a public execution. Not unmoved by the spectacle of a father pleading for his child, and taking into their consideration the meritorious services and virtuous character of the elder Sanudo, the people consented, for his sake, to modify their verdict; and the sentence of death was accordingly commuted for one of perpetual banishment. Ravenna was the spot, which was fixed on as the place of retirement; and as a judicious indulgence, he was allowed to select from the friends of his youth the companions of his exile. But Sanudo soon grew weary of an idle and sedentary life; and after a brief stay at Ravenna, he joined the service and standard of Hugo, marquis of Tuscany, who was engaged, at that time, in a war with Theobald, marquis of Spoleto. In a calling,

[1] Although, as the reader will remember, two scions of that family narrowly escaped the scaffold, in 864, for the part which they took in the murder of the Doge Pietro Tradenigo.

where his talents were more conspicuous than his vices, the Venetian prince showed merit, and might have attained distinction, had he not quickly forsaken the honourable profession of a soldier for the more congenial trade of a pirate. With six vessels, the fruit of Ravennese jealousy, Sanudo sailed as far as Primiero, where he met and secured seven Venetian merchantmen, bound for Fano, on the coast of Urbino; the prizes were led back in triumph to Ravenna, where the corsair might exult in his infamous behaviour toward a country, which had used him too well; and the search of Marco Zeno, whom the doge had despatched in quest of the missing vessels, with a fleet of thirteen galleys, was entirely unavailing.[1] But men were at no loss to account for the property by a rational conjecture, perhaps by a diligent inquiry; the general feeling and belief were, that the younger Sanudo was the author of the outrage; and his venerable parent, who had once hoped to close his eyes on a prouder spectacle, sank into the grave beneath the weight of so much sorrow and so much shame (959).

The name of Pietro Sanudo III. was respectable. The family, to which he belonged, was in the zenith of its power. And while the offer of the vacant magistracy to the representative of some other line threatened to rekindle from its ashes the war of the factions; the decree which forbade the return, precluded the election, of Pietro Sanudo IV. Thus the Arrengo wavered between a desire to maintain the inviolability of its oath, and a reluct-

[1] Vianoli (lib. iv. p. 126).

ance to rouse the vindictive resentment of the powerful family of Sanudo: the eventual annulment of the edict, and recall of the exile, showed the great influence of that house, while it betrayed the aristocratic tendencies of that assembly. Scarcely had his father ceased to breathe, when three hundred barks, gaily decorated with flags and streamers, conveyed a deputation of the nobles and clergy of Venice to Ravenna, where the pirate and proscript of yesterday was saluted with the title of Doge, and escorted, with every symbol of pomp, and every mark of enthusiasm, to the palace at Rialto, in which he received, at the hands of the people, the ducal crown and the sceptre of ivory. It was in vain, however, that the Venetians had sacrificed their honour to the love of peace, and a natural dread of the revival of civil dissension: the ingratitude and baseness of Sanudo degraded the ceremony of his recall into a ridiculous pageant.

Still, it may be questioned, whether the foul and odious excesses, which have branded the name of the fourth Sanudo with eternal infamy, do not accuse that weak and shallow doctrine, which forbears to inflict censure, or impose restraint, until a whim grows into a passion, and a fault hardens into a crime. It is true that we are wholly unable to judge whether the mind of Sanudo was too radically vicious to receive or retain wholesome impressions, or whether it was that the parent failed to command, until the child had ceased to obey. But, if the latter supposition, which is the more probable, be the correct one, it must be allowed, that a prince, who was anxious to perpetuate the chief authority in his own

family, was guilty of a grave offence in withholding from the son, on whom he looked and counted as his successor, that stern, yet steady discipline, which might fit him to become, in his maturer years, the sovereign of a free people.

Shortly after the accession of Sanudo IV., three acts, which deserve our attention, were passed, with his concurrence and approval, by the Popular Assembly. The first confirmed and renewed the law of 887, concerning the purchase and sale of Christian slaves; and the merchants of Venice were once more prohibited, under pain of the heaviest penalties,[1] from trafficking in such slaves, or from lending their vessels for such purpose to dealers, especially *Jews*.[2] The second—a revival of the statute of 827—forbade all commercial intercourse between the republic and the chiefs of the Saracens, who were engaged, at that period, in a sanguinary war with the Greeks.[3] The third abolished the old system, under which the citizens of the lagoon were the carriers of the despatches of the German and Italian courts, to Constantinople and the East. This

[1] Varying, according to the atrocity of the offence, or *the rank of the offender*, between a fine of five pounds (*lire piccioli*) of gold, the amputation of a limb, and decapitation.

[2] Muratori (*Ann.* v. p. 396); Filiasi (vi. p. 186); Marin (ii. p. 162); Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 206).

[3] This act, which was originally passed, as we have said, during the reign of Giustiniani Badoer, was subsequently relaxed in favour of certain articles of trade, which were not considered as convertible into implements of war. See Filiasi (*Saggio sul Antico Commercio dei Veneziani*, p. 23). Yet one would imagine that, if the Saracens were hard pressed, they might easily form, not only bows and arrows, lances, oars, and masts, but even ships, out of planks of poplar and oak, which figure among the exceptions.

traffic, which had hitherto formed a regular and somewhat lucrative branch of Venetian trade, was, at the time of which we are speaking, the sole available channel of communication between the Greek emperor, Romanus, and Otho, emperor of Germany; and it appears that Berenger II., whose power was still paramount in the peninsula, having urged the republic to discontinue that portion of the traffic, which promoted the intrigue of his rival, the heir of the Hohenstaufen, the islanders, unwilling to displease Berenger, or to compromise themselves with Otho, adopted the more prudent and dignified course of relinquishing the charge altogether. It is just to add, that the act, which related to the dealings of the merchants in Christian slaves, was originated in the Synod, and that the revival of the penal statute of 887, against that detestable traffic, was, in a large measure, owing to the pious and humane exertions of the clergy; and we must also observe, that the second ordinance, which had reference to the transactions of the same class with the Mahometans, was promulgated only after much hesitation and delay, at the earnest request of the Byzantine court, which bitterly and justly complained that a Power, outwardly professing to be its cordial and intimate ally, was secretly affording to the enemies of the Faith the means of carrying on with vigour and success a war, which was ruining the finances, and crippling the strength, of the empire.

In 964, that is to say, five years after the death of Pietro Sanudo III., the contest for the iron crown of Lombardy, which had lasted, without intermission, since the fall of Charles the Thick, in 888, was brought to a

happy conclusion; and the voice of a nation, fatigued and impoverished by war, summoned Otho, emperor of Germany, to govern the dominions of Pepin the Little. This important change did not escape the notice of the Venetians, who determined to lose no time in procuring from the new emperor of the West, the recognition of the charter, which they had obtained from Berenger II., in 948; and Otho was still at Rome, where he had just received the golden diadem at the hands of the Pontiff, when Giovanni Contarini and Giovanni Veniero arrived at that city, and, in the name of their sovereign, the chief magistrate of the Venetians, solicited him to acknowledge and renew the commercial privileges, which their commune had enjoyed in the peninsula since the days of King Alboin. The haughty and arrogant German, affecting to view, with an eye half indifferent, half contemptuous, the lofty pretensions of the republic to a place among the free and independent states of Europe,[1] received the ambassadors of Pietro Sanudo IV., with cold and punctilious formality; and while he affixed his signature and seal to their ancient charter,[2] he remarked (in the hearing of the envoys), that it was fortunate for Venice that she was too small and insignificant to attract the notice, or reward the ambition, of a great emperor. And perhaps in the expression of such a sentiment the son of Henry the Fowler might be perfectly sincere. Yet his descendants

[1] Denina (*Revol. d'Italia*, ii. p. 69).

[2] It appears also that, a short time afterwards, the system established by Lothiar in 840, of renewing this charter every fifth year, which had gradually fallen into disuse, was revived by Otho. See Sandi (i. p. 324), and Tentori (iii. p. 232).

were led to form a somewhat different opinion, when they came, in aftertimes, to Rialto, as the guests and equals of that same Doge of Venice, whom Otho pretended to despise; and one of them, at least, might bitterly regret that his predecessor had been so fastidious and so short-sighted.

The ratification of this treaty, and the enactment of those statutes, constitute and represent the foreign policy of the Doge Sanudo. We must now take a review of his domestic government; and as the former has placed the character of that prince in the best light, the latter will set it in what must, we fear, be considered the truest. Yet his subjects were led, at first, to hope, that a change had passed over the spirit of their chief magistrate, and that, in the Doge of Venice, they had lost the pirate of Ravenna, and the bravo, whose wild frolics and odious excesses had once been the terror of the Rialto; and, certainly, the studied moderation of Pietro during the first few years of his reign, might have favoured a conclusion, that, repenting the sins of his youth, he was striving, by his just and equitable conduct, to blot out, if that were possible, the memory of the past. But this conclusion and that hope were alike fallacious and short-lived; the mask which the doge had chosen, from politic motives, to assume on his accession, was thrown aside at the earliest opportunity; and the Venetians were soon forced to wish that the voice, which so lately pleaded for the life of a monster, had pleaded in vain.

Domenigo Sanudo,[1] bishop of Torcello, having died in

[1] This was the elder brother of the doge, and, consequently, the eldest son of the late Pietro Sanudo III.

964-5, the synod chose, as his successor, Matteo Giagi.[1] The doge, however, with whom the final decision rested in such matters, expressed a dissent, and conferred the vacant surplice on his own son Vitali. But this mere legitimate exercise of the ducal prerogative, which might have satisfied an ordinary mind, did not satisfy Pietro, who caused the unfortunate Giagi to be seized, deprived of sight, and removed from the public eye by death, or imprisonment. Yet the only symptoms of popular displeasure, which condemned so atrocious an outrage, were low murmurs and timid reproaches; and when the patriarchal see of Grado fell vacant, in 969,[2] by the death of Vitali Barbolano, the Bishop of Torcello was raised to the primacy without opposition, and his surplice was given to one Giovanni Orio.

Shortly afterwards the doge divorced, on some shallow pretence,[3] his consort Giovanna, and, having immured her in the abbey of Saint Zacchary, obtained in marriage Gualdrada, the sister of his old patron Hugo, marquis of Tuscany, with whom he received, on the day of their espousals, a portion of four hundred pounds of silver, and certain estates in Oderzo, Ferrara, Treviso, and Adria.[4] This alliance might be well considered the most notable event in an eventful career: it was the point, on which the destiny of Pietro turned. Few men are so wise, or so happily constituted, as to bear with equanimity and grace, the gifts of fortune, and he was not one of those

[1] Vianoli (*Historia Veneta*, lib. iv. p. 130).

[2] Sansovino (*Chronico*, p. 19); Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 209).

[3] Sabellico (lib. iii. p. 69) alleges that the age of his first dogaressa disgusted her amorous husband, who repudiated her on that account.

[4] Sandi (i. p. 324); Tentori (iii. p. 232); Romanini (i. p. 249).

few. By his union with the Tuscan heiress, the doge was placed in possession of an ample revenue, and in command of a numerous body of serfs and retainers; and, having thus attained an object, which he had long sought and desired in vain, he determined to indulge, to the fullest extent, a secret love of grandeur and fondness of show. It was not long before the people witnessed the introduction of an order of things, strongly and strangely contrasting with that stern simplicity, which the members of a free republic still valued and preserved among them, as the leading characteristic and distinguishing mark of that particular form of government: Saint Mark's and the Rialto soon afforded the novel spectacle of a ducal court; the courtiers—the serfs or satellites of Sanudo—were taught to imitate, in their costumes, their manners, their behaviour, the slaves, who knelt at the foot of the thrones of the Greek and German autocrats; and this display of regal pomp and magnificence, which in itself might have been not unpleasing to the popular eye, was attended by a despotism, more absolute than that of the house of Badoer, more terrible than the despotism of the two Galbaii. Yet the heart of a nation is not easily touched to the core, or its pride stung to the quick; the Venetians, from the nature of their constitution, were singularly patient and phlegmatic under oppression; and not only did they tolerate, for some time, without much sensible emotion, the haughty bearing and tyrannical conduct of their sovereign, but they suffered the Excusati, who had now been, during 270 years, the guards and domestic ministers of the chief magistrate, to be superseded by a mercenary

corps, which his Serenity had partly raised on his new estates, partly in the province of Tuscany. The enlistment of aliens in the Venetian service was a proceeding unparalleled in the annals of the republic; and although there was no provisional clause in the Promissione,[1] which declared such a course unconstitutional, the admission of foreign troops into the capital, without the consent or advice of the Arrengo, was generally considered as an arbitrary stretch of the ducal prerogative, as well as a gross insult to the national pride. At the same time, there were some in Venice, and those not a few, who felt secretly inclined to regard that extraordinary step less as an act of tyranny, than as a measure of precaution, dictated by the growing distrust, which Sanudo entertained of the good will and affection of his subjects; and consequently this party, while they shared the general disgust at the dismissal of the old guard, derived some consolation from the thought, that it was a presage of the near approach of a great and favourable change.

That change, indeed, was much nearer at hand than the most timid might have dared to hope, or the most sanguine to prophesy. A few years after the second nuptials of Sanudo, the Ferrarese, having made an incursion on that part of his estates, which lay in the vicinity of their town, the doge despatched a strong Venetian force to assert and protect his rights; the aggression was speedily repulsed, the aggressors, severely chastised; the citadel of Ferrara was taken and destroyed; the whole

[1] The oath, which the doge took on his accession, like our coronation oath.

neighbourhood was given up to sack and pillage; and a second attempt of a similar character, in another quarter, was avenged by the ruins of Oderzo. On the part of the Venetians, the losses were trifling, and, in ordinary times, the circumstances of the expedition, and the fact itself, would have been suffered, like so many other incidents, which merely bring misery and sorrow home to a few hearths, to fade gradually into a tradition. But such was now the state of the public mind, that the slightest irritation was sufficient to rouse it to madness, and the sacrifice even of a single drop of its blood in a private[1] and unpopular cause, was what the nation had no longer the heart to endure. The scene, which ensued, was that same scene of tumult, confusion, and anarchy which, in the days of the Venetian monarchy, invariably attended and announced a violent change in the government. Once more, after the lapse of two hundred years, an insurgent multitude, maddened to frenzy by a long course of insult and oppression, assembled in judgment on the square in front of Saint Mark's, crying for vengeance, and thirsting for blood; and once more a cowardly tyrant, awakening only, at the last hour, to a full sense of his folly and danger, quailed before a people, whose most sacred privileges he had dared to set at nought.

Yet, as the doge glanced from the window of his palace at the crowded space below, he might almost imagine, at first, that his fears were without sufficient foundation.

[1] Compare Daru (*Histoire*, i. p. 107), with Tiepolo (*Discorsi*, i. pp. 129-30).

The insurgents, doubtful how to act, though inwardly bent on achieving some great thing, had already dispersed in groups to consider among themselves, what course it was best to pursue, or to listen to the views of some favourite orator on the point in agitation. Even should they persist in their original intention, and ultimately have recourse to extreme measures, there still seemed no very strong ground for apprehension. On the sworn fidelity, steady discipline, and dauntless courage of the mercenaries, who were well aware that his cause was their cause, and that his fate would be their fate, Sanudo felt that he might safely place the firmest reliance; and in such hands Saint Mark's, in itself a solid structure, appeared to be capable of offering a long resistance to the vague and ill-directed efforts of a *mob*. But on closer observation, this hope vanished, those fears returned; a movement, in which the noblest of the citizens were not ashamed to join, to which those, who held the largest stake in the welfare of their country, were willing to lend their aid and countenance, was not long to be mistaken in its meaning; and, although the repeated attempts of the people to gain an entrance into the palace proved ineffectual, it soon became manifest that measures of a more serious and stringent nature were in contemplation. In fact, at the suggestion of Pietro Orseolo, one of their number, the leaders of the popular movement, seeing that open violence was of no avail, determined to procure the submission of the doge by other means; and with this view, some of their followers were ordered to set fire to the buildings, which lay in the immediate vicinity of the

ducal residence. The flames spread with a rapidity, which might have appalled the incendiaries themselves. Clouds of thick and igneous vapour soon darkened and impregnated the atmosphere. The churches of Saint Mary and Saint Theodore were speedily reduced to ashes. In the course of a few hours, they touched with their forked and blighting tongue, the chapel of Saint Mark, which adjoined the doge's palace; and broken columns of smoke, driven by violent gusts of wind against the casements of the latter building, diffused a panic-terror among the unfortunate inmates, whose destiny seemed to consign them, as a living hecatomb, to that fierce and voracious element. Amid the horror and confusion of such a scene, Pietro Sanudo, bearing the infant, which he had by Gualdrada, in his arms, was suddenly seen to rush out of Saint Mark's chapel which, as we have said, communicated with the palace, to prostrate himself before a group, in which he recognised a few of his friends and relatives, and to implore their protection and pity, promising to redress every grievance, to undo every act of injustice. But it was too late. The hour had now come, when submission was no longer of avail; when the expression of regret for his past conduct tended to exasperate, rather than to mollify, by bringing that conduct more vividly before the minds of the sufferers, and when those, whom he had once known, and on whose support he might once have counted, found it in their heart to turn a deaf ear to his cry for mercy. The multitude, who hated the despot, hated and despised the suppliant; and while they upbraided him with his crimes and excesses, a few

of the bystanders, more resolute or more impatient than the rest, plunged their daggers into his bosom. Nor was this all. The little child, whose innocence, Sanudo had hoped, would move the people to compassion and clemency, was the partner of its parent's fate, since it might be the heir to its parent's vices; and it was not till the tempest had subsided, that one Giovanni Gradenigo[1] ventured to claim for the corpses the rites of decent interment.

This abrupt and violent termination of the odious career of the fourth Sanudo might be anticipated; the only wonder being, that the nation should bear so long a yoke, which it could break so easily, and that the elective magistrate of a state, which was styled a free commonwealth, should be suffered, during the greater part of seventeen years, to exercise, under the thin mask of liberty and equality, a power scarcely less extensive than the power, which was held, at that period, by the heirs of Constantine and the Hohenstaufen, and that enjoyed, in our own time, by the Emperor of Morocco or the King of the two Sicilies. To those, however, who may have perused with some degree of attention, the history of Venice from the day, on which twelve Gastaldi were set over the islands in the salt-lagoon to govern them for and by the people, even this will be easy of explanation. The terrible excesses of the tribunitial oligarchy, the ferocious despotism of Monegaro, Catanio, and Fabrizio Ziani, the arbitrary and tyrannical sway of Giovanni Galbaio and

[1] A monk, and apparently, a friend of that Pietro Orseolo, whom we have mentioned as one of the popular leaders.

Maurizio his son, and, lastly, the absolute, though mostly just and equitable, rule of the house of Badoer during a period of seventy-four years, are only illustrations of the same text, and proofs of the same doctrine; and the long reign of Pietro Sanudo IV., which might otherwise seem to impugn the candour or accuracy of chroniclers, merely forms, in reality, another comment on the tendency of the government, and another satire on the character of the people.[1]

The death of Sanudo gratified the vengeance, and calmed the passions, of the multitude; and the Venetians had now leisure to perceive and to regret, that three hundred houses were utterly consumed,[2] that the churches of Saint Theodore and Saint Mary Jubenigo were laid in ruins, and that the ducal chapel and the palace of Saint Mark were irreparably injured. Yet, while a few still lingered over that distressing and melancholy scene, the rest assembled in the church of Saint Peter the Apostle at Olivolo, where his fellow-citizens displayed their gratitude, or redeemed their word, by nominating Pietro Orseolo, the principal leader of the late insurrection, chief magistrate of the republic (12th August, 976).

The new doge, who was in the forty-eighth year of his

[1] The chroniclers are always at great pains to make it manifest, in spite of incontestable evidence to the contrary, that everything was done with the concurrence and approval of the popular assembly, which it requires no extraordinary sagacity and penetration to see, must be impossible in a state which, though avowedly and nominally a commonwealth, was, in its tendencies and feelings, essentially and originally *aristocratic*.

[2] Morosini (lib. iii. p. 77); Tentori (iii. p. 235); Filiasi (vi. p. 204); Marin (ii. p. 170).

age,[1] and in extremely affluent circumstances, belonged to an ancient Roman family of some consideration, who had left their native city in the time of Attila, and settled at Torcello; and although their descendant had no claim to a place in the first order of the aristocracy, he enjoyed, to the fullest extent, that social pre-eminence, to which his large fortune and his amiable character entitled him.

The question, which engaged his earliest attention on coming to the throne, was the restoration of the buildings, which had perished in the recent conflagration. Among these, the loss of Saint Mark's itself was the most deeply regretted, since it was the least easily repaired; and Orseolo, reluctant, under the circumstances, to aggravate the public distress by calling on the popular assembly to furnish the necessary funds, determined with equal piety and patriotism to rebuild the Basilica at his own expense. A curious tradition is extant that, while it was still a question, to whom the commission should be given, an unknown person, of singular appearance, and lame in both legs, presented himself, and offered to render Saint Mark's the most magnificent and beautiful edifice imaginable, upon the understanding that, on its completion, his statue in marble should be placed in the most conspicuous part of the building. The doge, who might well smile at the whimsical request of the cripple, acceded, it is said, to the stipulation; and for awhile the work pro-

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 465). This is what an ancient chronicler (Sagorninus) calls *puerilis ætas*, and Romanini (i. p. 257) appears to be of a similar opinion.

gressed favourably enough; but it seems that the stranger confessed to Orseolo, one day, his inability to complete the contract, and that, consequently, he lost his statue. The new Basilica was ultimately built in the Byzantine style of architecture, after a design by a Greek, who came for that special purpose from Constantinople; the details of the execution were superintended by Francesco Gradenigo, who had lately succeeded Luca Talenti in the high office of Primicerio of Saint Mark; and as soon as the work was brought to a close, the pious doge placed in the sanctuary an altar of gold, which he had caused to be manufactured in the capital of the East. A considerable length of time elapsed, however, before the new palace was prepared for the reception of Orseolo, and we read that, in the interval, he obtained permission to transfer the emblems of sovereignty to his own house, in the street of Saint Philip and Saint James,[1] where he temporarily discharged the duties of the chief magistracy.

While this was passing at Venice, Gualdrada, having succeeded in escaping the popular vengeance during the insurrection, had joined Adelaide, the consort of the late Emperor Otho I., and empress regent, at Verona; and, at the same time, the Patriarch of Grado, exasperated beyond measure at the elevation of a man, on whose head rested, in his opinion, the blood of a murdered parent, had quitted his see and his country, in order to expose, in the halls of Magdeburg and Metz, the guilt and turpitude of Orseolo and the Venetians, and to seek in the

[1] Romanini (*Storia*, i. p. 251); Filiasi (vi. p. 214); Fougasse (*History of Venice*, dec. i. lib. iv).

new Emperor, Otho II., an avenger of the wrongs of the house of Sanudo. But the doge and his fellow-citizens, knowing that a feeling of friendship and sympathy[1] existed between the Saṇudi and the Hohenstaufen, and that, with his crown, Otho had inherited the sentiments, which the first of his name entertained toward the republic, were perfectly sensible of the evil consequences, which might ensue, should they allow the Patriarch time to extend his intrigues to the court of Verona, and to enlist in his cause the empress as well as her son; and it was therefore determined, during Vitali's absence in Germany, to counteract his probable success in that quarter, by removing, if it were possible, the unfavourable impression, to which recent events had given rise, in the peninsula, regarding their commune. Accordingly, a few months after his accession (976-7), Orseolo directed Domenigo Carimani[2] to proceed to Verona, to ascertain the temper and views of the court of Adelaide, and to endeavour to pacify Gualdrada by the offer of a liberal indemnity for the losses, which she had sustained by the sudden death of her husband, the late doge. The instructions of Carimani were simple; yet their execution was attended by no common difficulty. For, although Gualdrada herself was inclined to be reasonable, the empress, who pointed to the ruined walls of Oderzo and Ferrara, seemed disposed to insist, as a preliminary step, on the full reparation of the damages, which the Venetian troops had inflicted on those parts of the imperial dominions in

[1] Filiasi (vi. p.214), who quotes Dorasius (*De Familiâ Candianâ*).
[2] Sanudo (*Vite*, p.464); Marin (ii. pp.176-7).

the time of Sanudo IV. More moderate counsels, however, prevailed in the end; the tact or importunacy of Carimani induced Adelaide to waive or withdraw her exorbitant claim; and provided only, that the four hundred pounds of silver, which Sanudo had received on the day of his union with the sister of Hugo, was returned to the widowed dogaressa, the empress consented to join with the latter in a solemn declaration, that the republic should receive no prejudice whatever from past occurrences, and that any subject of the empire, who molested a Venetian citizen in the pursuit of his calling, should be liable to severe punishment. Still the amount of the *pacification* was considerable. The fisc was almost empty. And the burgesses of Equilo, Caorlo, and Malamocco, refused, till they were forced, to discharge the arrears of their tithes. The money, however, was ultimately raised, and the cause of disagreement was removed. It may, perhaps, seem strange, that the only measure which was capable, at that juncture, of saving the liberty and honour of the republic, was on the verge of exciting a powerful insurrection, and that, in collecting the overdue contributions of a large portion of the population, it was necessary to employ open violence. It is infinitely more strange to us, that such a primeval system of taxation should have lasted five centuries and a half, and that the Venetians should have so long neglected to organise some public and regular fund, which might, at all times, be fully adequate to the wants of a free and rising State.

In the course of the same year (977) the treaty of 932 between the republic and the town of Capo d'Istria (or

Justinople), which had been lost, with many other valuable archives, in the late fire, was formally renewed, and confirmed by the Duke of Benevento,[1] who appears to have taken advantage of the circumstance by attempting to draw the Venetian fief from her allegiance.

It was shortly after this recovery of Justinople, that a stranger landed at the Piazzetta, and sought an interview with the doge (September, 977). He announced himself as the brother Guarino, superior of the abbey of Saint Michael of Cusano, in Gascony; and it seemed that the motive, which had prompted him to undertake so long a journey, was a pious curiosity to view the new temple and shrine of the Patron Evangelist. Orseolo received his holy guest with marked distinction; and during the brief sojourn of the abbot in the Venetian capital, the intercourse of those two congenial spirits ripened into intimacy. The conversation naturally turned on the goodness of the Maker, the reward of virtue, and the vanity of human ambition. The monk talked with captivating fluency: the doge listened with attention to the words which fell from the man of God. A discourse grew into a controversy; the controversy subsided into a lecture; and in the course of a few days, Orseolo was fully persuaded that a monastic life afforded the greatest facilities to meditative minds, and the nearest approach to the perfection of human happiness. Guarino, on his part, was in favour of an instant renunciation of the world and its paltry grandeur; but, whatever may have been the strength of his convictions, whatever the force of his

[1] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 213); Sabellico (lib. iv. p. 76).

enthusiasm, the prudent doge failed not to consider that a certain space of time was necessary to arrange his private affairs, and otherwise prepare himself for the new mode of life, which he contemplated: Orseolo asked, for this purpose, the delay of a twelvemonth. On the expiration of that term, the abbot of Saint Michael's was invited to return to Venice, and to claim his illustrious proselyte. In the meanwhile, the doge continued to discharge with unremitting zeal the duties, which devolved on him as chief magistrate of the Venetians; his secret design of relinquishing the cares of government, and of passing his declining years in the tranquil seclusion of a French convent, was known only to a very few; and the people at large were wholly ignorant, till afterwards, of the powerful effect, which the mysterious stranger had exercised on the mind of their prince. Distrustful of female discretion, Pietro determined not to disclose his intention even to his wife Felicia, who had enrolled herself, some time since, with the approval of her spouse, among the nuns of Saint Zacchary; the only partners of his secret were his son-in-law, Giovanni Morosini, and an intimate friend, Giovanni Gradenigo,[1] and they were the chosen companions of his flight.

Accompanied by two of the brethren, named Romoald and Marino, the superior of Saint Michael's returned to Venice, with pious punctuality, on the evening of the 1st September, 978, and repaired, according to previous arrangement, to the monastery of Saint Hilary, in Rialto, where they were speedily joined by the doge and his

[1] Diedo (lib. iii. p. 43).

two associates. And Pietro having assumed the humble garb of a pilgrim, the whole party, anxious to escape detection, and elude pursuit, quitted Saint Hilary's at midnight, mounted the horses, which awaited them in the court-yard, and traversing the narrow canal, rode at full gallop across the country. The fugitives reached their destination without danger or impediment; and when they had received the hospitable welcome of the abbot, Gradenigo and Morosini bade farewell to a friend and a father-in-law, and retraced their steps homeward. The noble recluse survived his strange resolution nineteen years; and during that long period he was frequently visited in the solitude of Cusano by his youthful son Pietro, to whom, it is gravely alleged, he foretold his future fame. The year 997 witnessed the death of the parent and the glory of the child; and it is whispered that Orseolo the Holy lived long enough to repent the rash vow,[1] which he made to the abbot Guarino.

The news of the doge's flight was not known in Venice till the morning of the 2nd of September. The unexpected intelligence gave rise, in the public mind, to a mingled feeling of satisfaction and grief. That his Serenity would ultimately lay aside the sceptre, and assume the cowl, was a thing, which had been expected and foreseen by those who knew the man, and the strong distaste which he had in his heart for all manner of worldliness and pomp. But no one had imagined that the period of his abdication was so near, or that the place of his retirement would be so distant; and even the Lady

[1] *Vitæ SS. Ordinis Sancti Benedicti* (sec. v. p. 885).

Felicia, while she consoled herself for the loss of her consort, by admiring the piety of the motive, and the wisdom of the vow, could not refrain from expressing her surprise and regret, that the doge should have chosen to fix his future and last earthly abode in a convent at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains,[1] instead of passing a life of sanctity and ease among the vineyards of Saint Zacchary, or the olive-groves of Amiano. Still, the departure of Orseolo was not to be considered as a public misfortune, although there might be many, who regarded with unfeigned sorrow the loss of so pious and so amiable a prince. The bankrupt state, to which the ducal fisc had been reduced by recent disbursements, the restless ambition of Otho II., the secret jealousy, which he entertained of Venetian independence, and the manifold causes which they had to dread his animosity, led thinking men to perceive and acknowledge the expediency of having in their chief magistrate, at that juncture, a man who, in addition or even in preference to other recommendations, found more favour in the eyes of the Hohenstaufen than his late Serenity. It therefore became a question in some quarters, whether an event, which afforded the nation the opportunity of gaining so desirable an object, was not an advantage rather than the contrary. The Candiani, or Sanudi,[2] on whom the excesses of the last doge of the name had brought such odium and disgrace, were known to possess greater influence with the present

[1] Galibert (ch. iv. p. 39).

[2] In the Venetian dialect, this name sometimes assumed the corrupt form of *Zanutti*. See Daru (*Histoire*, i. p. 196).

Emperor of the West than any other family in Venice;[1] and the people consequently felt that, by seeking the successor of Orseolo among the members of that illustrious house, they were best consulting the common interest. Their choice fell on Vitali, the uncle of the patriarch of Grado, and the younger brother of the late Pietro Sanudo IV.[2]

The late Pietro Orseolo was singularly free from those vices which, in vain minds, are commonly the offspring of worldly prosperity; his manners were gentle and unassuming, and his deportment modest in the extreme, though not without a certain graceful dignity. He was pious to superstition, charitable to munificence, chaste to austerity; an enthusiast in religion, in life an ascetic; not endowed with brilliant talents, not destitute of useful abilities; and acquitting himself of the duties, which devolved on him as magistrate and citizen, always well, always honourably. Only men might say, that he was too much inclined to bigotry, and too good a man[3] to be a great prince. Even at this distance of time, we

[1] Dorasius (*De Familiâ Candianâ*), *ut suprâ.*

[2] Denina (*Revol. d'Italia*, ii. p. 76), confounds Vitali the son, with Vitali the brother, of the fourth Sanudo.

[3] Romanini (i. p. 251) entertains grave doubts concerning the identity of the doge with that Orseolo, at whose instigation fire was set to the buildings contiguous to the ducal palace. He questions whether a man of such scrupulous piety and such gentle character could be guilty of so great an *offence*. Now we, for our part, have no misgivings of the sort, seeing that there is no reason whatever, why the best of men should object, either on the score of religion or of morality, to co-operate with his countrymen in getting rid of an odious tyrant. We have no proof that Orseolo desired the death of his predecessor; we know, on the other hand, that one of his intimate friends, Giovanni

can easily imagine Orseolo, half doge, half monk, now addressing the Arrengo on some passing question of public concern; now conversing in a low and subdued voice, with some poorly clad pilgrim, newly arrived from Rome or the East; at one time, performing some strange and mysterious penance in his private chapel; at another, coming forth from the inner chamber of Saint Mark's to receive the ambassador of Otho, or the deputies of Justinople.

The offer of the crown to Vitali Sanudo was, under the circumstances, a flattering testimony to the power and influence of the house, to which he owed his origin and name; his acceptance of it seemed to imply a readiness, on his part, to endeavour, so far as he was able, to place the relations of his country with the Hohenstaufen on a firmer and more friendly footing. The doge was fully sensible of this important and pressing obligation: to discharge it was his first and immediate care; and in the choice of an envoy to the court of Germany, Vitali naturally fixed on his kinsman the patriarch, who had just returned to Venice in the confident hope of a favourable reception and a permanent stay. The metropolitan, although he exhibited some distaste for so long and wearisome a journey, accepted the trust; and the result of his mission was, on the whole, satisfactory. The avarice of a trading community was gratified by the intelligence, that Otho had consented to renew for a term of five years the charter, by virtue of which the merchants

Gradenigo, was foremost in rescuing the corpses from their probable fate in the canal, and that he paid them the last rites.

of Venice disposed of their cargoes, on easy and lucrative conditions, in the ports of the kingdom of Italy. Yet the national pride was wounded, in no slight degree, by the patriarch's report that, in granting the request of Sanudo and the republic, his Majesty declared himself actuated solely by a wish to please his mother Adelaide and his consort Theophano (both of whom were fortunately well-disposed towards the Venetians), and a desire to merit the divine clemency by commiserating the forlorn state of the people in the salt-lagoon.[1] This partial and temporary reconciliation with the German emperor was the only act, which distinguished the brief and uneventful reign of Sanudo V.; and in the fourteenth month after his accession, this prince, who had always been of a weak and sickly constitution, formed a determination to resign a crown, which pressed too heavily on his brow, and to withdraw into the monastery of Saint Hilary, in the neighbourhood of Fusina.[2]

Marina Sanudo, the niece of the doge, and the daughter of his elder brother Pietro, was united, at this time, to Tribuno Memo, a man of ample fortune, and the owner of a large estate near Malamocco,[3] but of mean parts and a narrow understanding. Yet his enormous wealth, his alliance with the doge's kinswoman, and his influence over the great house of Caloprini, with which he was also connected by marriage, appear to have rendered merit a

[1] Romanini (i. pp. 257-8); Muratori (v. p. 450); Filiasi (vi. p. 213); Marin (ii. p. 188).

[2] Diedo (lib. iii. p. 41); Galibert (ch. iv. p. 39); Daru (lib. ii. p. 111); Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 551).

[3] Romanini (i. p. 258).

secondary consideration; and when, in November, 979, Vitali expressed his strong desire to abdicate, Memo was chosen to succeed him.

During the earlier part of his reign, the attention of the Emperor Otho II. had been mainly occupied by the affairs of Germany; and he was not in a position, till toward the year 982, to carry into execution his plan for the recovery of Northern Italy, which had been gradually overrun by the Saracens, and to which his union with Theophano, the niece of Basilius and Constantine, and heiress of Puglia and Calabria, gave him, in his own estimation, a just and exclusive right. His success in the Peninsula, however, was far from corresponding to his expectations; the hope of winning back the triple crown, which glittered on the brows of Charlemagne, was dispelled by the firm and hostile attitude of the joint successors of Constantine the Great; and the real weakness of the Byzantine court was supported and disguised by the prompt co-operation of Venice and the Saracens. The latter, naturally anxious to prevent the invader from establishing himself in the south of Italy, speedily recruited their ranks by levies from Sicily and Algiers; a Greek army was conveyed in Venetian transports to the shores of Calabria; and the forces of the emperor, who had fearlessly advanced to meet his opponents, were almost annihilated by the confederates at the battle of Basentello. Otho himself, who was obliged to seek safety in flight, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Greeks; and he succeeded with difficulty in regaining Verona, where he convoked a general Diet of the empire. This

assembly was composed of the great vassals of the realm, the high dignitaries of the church, and the deputies from foreign courts; and the ranks of the latter body were unexpectedly swelled by the arrival of Pietro Morosini, Noello Badoer, and Pietro Andreadi, the envoys of the new Doge of Venice, the successor of Sanudo V. The Venetians, whose national welfare depended so much on the continuance in force of the charter, granted to them, in the seventh century, by the second of the Lombard kings, were desirous of ascertaining the temper and views of the German emperor since their co-operation with the Greeks, his bitterest enemies, in the defence of Puglia and Calabria. They were still unaware to what extent the course, which they took on that occasion, had attracted his notice, and incurred his displeasure; and they felt that, should any soreness of feeling really exist in the mind of Otho on this ground, it was expedient to remove it on the first opportunity. With this important mission it was that Morosini and his two companions had been charged by Tribuno Memo. The envoys, who were ushered into the council-hall with the customary pomp and ceremony, found the emperor more than ordinarily cold and repulsive in his manner; and although he made no allusion to the part which the republic had borne in the late campaign, it was evident that the fact of Venetian transports having been placed at the disposal of the Byzantine court, had come to his knowledge. Their *boasted* charter, however, which, as the ambassadors *alleged*, bore the seals and signs manual of Luitprand the Lombard, of Charlemagne, of Pepin the Little, of

Lothar, of Louis the Pious, of Charles the Thick, and, lastly, of Otho the Hohenstaufen, was demanded and produced; and after a show of grave and mature deliberation, the commercial privileges of the islanders were recognised and confirmed, on the understanding, that those immunities were purchased with the annual payment of fifty pounds (*lire piccioli*) of gold,[1] to the imperial treasury.

But while the republic was viewed by her powerful neighbour with such a jealous and resentful eye, she was far more fully and keenly sensible of the danger, which might arise from the shameful and treacherous discord of her own citizens. The capital, which had enjoyed undisturbed tranquillity since the revolution of 976, had once more become a prey to tumult and dissension. Public order was violated, public opinion was divided, by a feud between the Morosini and the Caloprini,[2] originating in

[1] Equal to about £1500 of our money. This annual tax, however, was usually tendered in the form of a robe of cloth of gold of the prescribed value. It is doubtful whether the custom of purchasing the privilege of free trade was introduced by Otho II., or whether it dates from an earlier period. I do not, however, observe any such stipulation in the ancient treaties of the republic with the successors of Alboin and Charlemagne, and am, therefore, disposed to conclude that it originated only in the tenth century, when the trade of the Venetians with the peninsula had become more extensive and valuable, and that it was, most probably, an innovation made by Otho himself.

[2] Sismondi (*Rep. Ital.* i. p. 351) has a note about the names of these two families. It is as follows:—"Peut-être ces surnoms sont-ils équivalens à ceux de flatteurs et de dupes, que se donnoient les deux partis; *peut-être sont ils plus anciens que leur discorde.*" The reader of these pages will remember that, among the twelve citizens, who elected Paolo Luca Anafesto, in 697, a Morosini is mentioned; and it is, therefore, clear that, whatever may have been its origin, that denomination was

the old question, whether an adhesion to the Eastern or Western empire was most conducive to the welfare and prosperity of their commune. The Morosini were in favour of the Byzantine court; their rivals declared for the Hohenstaufen. The former, who echoed the sentiments of the people at large, were the more numerous; the latter, who counted on the firm support of the great houses of Memo and Sanudo, were, at first, the more influential party. But they speedily lost that influence through their own violence and indiscretion. One day, a report was circulated, that Domenigo Morosini, a man highly esteemed for his piety and virtue, had been seized and assassinated, at the doors of Saint Peter's church, in Castello, by the satellites of Stefano Caloprini, the leader of the opposite faction; the intelligence gave rise to an almost universal feeling of indignation and horror; and the real author of the outrage, obliged to effect a precipitate escape from the hands of justice, sought an asylum for himself, his two sons, and his four principal adherents,[1] at the court of Verona.

At the commencement of the quarrel between the Caloprini and their rivals, Tribuno Memo had instinctively attached himself to the former, with whom he was connected by the double tie of marriage and friendship. The deplorable tragedy at Castello, however, led the doge to change his views and his party; the family and kindred

not invented for the first time, in 982, as a party nickname. The same remark will apply to the Caloprini, who were already a family of high standing and consideration in the earlier part of the ninth century.

[1] Orso Badoer, Domenigo Selvo, Pietro Troño, and Giovanni Benato.

of Domenigo Morosini were now, in their turn, favoured and caressed; and the Caloprini fell into odium and disrepute. Facing the ducal palace,[1] yet separated from it by a narrow canal, lay the small island of San Giorgio Maggiore, so called from a church of the same name, which had been founded there in the early ages of the commonwealth. At this period San Giorgio, though celebrated for its vineyards, its olive groves, and its avenues of cypresses, appears to have been wholly uninhabited; and Memo, to whom the manorial rights would seem to have belonged, determined to confer the islet, as a peace-offering, on one of the Morosini family, who was desirous of establishing, on that site, a monastery of the order of Saint Benedict.[2] The act of donation, which bore date the 20th December, 982, was subscribed by the doge himself, the ducal notary, and one hundred and thirty of the first houses in Venice; and in the conditions attached to the grant, was included the important stipulation, that the founder of the new institution, and his descendants, should drain the marshy ground on the estate, or in the vicinity, and bring the soil under cultivation.[3] This ill-judged step, it will be seen, was productive of the most unfortunate, and probably unforeseen, results.

In the mean time, the exiles had found ready admittance to the presence of the emperor; and Otho listened with pleasure and attention to the words which fell from

[1] Sansovino (lib. v. p. 218).

[2] The same Giovanni Morosini, who had been the friend and confidant of the Doge Orseolo, and who had accompanied that prince to Gascony in 978.

[3] Romanini (i. p. 263).

Stefano Caloprini. "Sire," cried the latter, "it is at the feet of a prince, who is the darling of his subjects, the admiration of the universe, that the victims of tyranny and misfortune have come to throw themselves. Banished from a country, towards which we have given so many proofs of our love, our only safety is in your protection; and we rise not till you have deigned to take compassion on our misery. We assure you, sire, that we have had no share in the death of the excellent Doge Sanudo; nor in the violation of the treaties, which attached our commune to your empire; nor have we sought an alliance with the Greeks, your inveterate enemies. I speak not (continued Caloprini) only in the name of those, whom you behold prostrate at your feet, and who are themselves persons of no small consideration, but in that of all, who detest, as we do, the despotism of a faction, and of a doge, who lends to it his aid and countenance." The speaker concluded by offering to Otho the sovereignty of Venice and the Adriatic, with the suggestion that, as soon as the matter came to a successful issue, he should feel a pride and a pleasure in administering the new province in the imperial name.[1] An annual tribute of a hundred pounds of gold should attest his devotion and allegiance; and the Venetian marine, placed at the disposal of his Majesty, might materially assist in the expulsion of the Saracens and Greeks from Italy, and in avenging Basentello. The specious eloquence and plausible manner of the emigrant

[1] Denina (*Rev. d'Italia*, ii. p. 78, and *Rev. di Germania*, i. p. 298); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 466); Sabellico (lib. iv. p. 79); Daru (i. p. 114); Romanini (i. p. 260); Diedo (lib. iii. p. 42).

produced the desired effect; in his expression of loyal affection and fidelity to the person of the Hohenstaufen, Caloprini was believed to be honest and sincere; and Otho agreed, after some hesitation, to the plan of that reckless and unprincipled intriguer for annexing the dogado to Lombardy, and appointing him imperial governor of the new Venetian province.

But before this project could be carried into execution, it was obviously necessary to reduce the Venetians themselves to submission; an edict, suspending all commercial intercourse between the republic and the empire, and declaring the islands in a state of strict blockade, promised a speedy attainment of that object; and the conspirators, in whose bosom a fierce and unnatural hatred of the country of their birth seemed to extinguish every nobler sentiment, were not ashamed to solicit or accept the task of enforcing, to the utmost of their power, the observance of the statute. Caloprini himself chose Padua as his head-quarters. The district of the Adige devolved on Orso Badoer. Domenigo Selvo and Pietro Trono were instructed to keep watch in the neighbourhood of Mestre. Marino Caloprini, the eldest son of the conspirator, was stationed in the town itself. His younger son, Stefano, took charge of Ravenna, and the whole line of coast as far as Brondolo; and, lastly, Giovanni Benato was temporarily invested with a general control over the navigation of the various rivers, which flow into the salt-lagoon, lest their waters should convey to Rialto by stealth the usual supply of the necessaries of life. At the same time, Cavarzero, a Venetian fief, situate within a short distance

of Commacchio, sold herself to the enemy for a promise of the rights of a municipal borough; and John, bishop of Belluno, availing himself, by suggestion or instinct, of the embarrassed state of the republic, made an inroad of a predatory character into Citta Nuova, from which he returned with an ample booty.

On the other hand, a decree was issued, in the name of the commune of Venice, pronouncing a sentence of outlawry against the three Caloprini and their accomplices, declaring their lands and effects confiscate, and their families, the hostages of the state. This edict, however, while it served to gratify the popular pride and resentment, helped not to extricate the besieged from a difficulty, which surpassed alike their calculation and foresight. By the sudden suspension of their intercourse with the ports of the Adriatic, which were now closed without exception against the Venetian flag, all communication with the mainland was destroyed; and while their available resources were scanty and insufficient, the hope of relief from without was dispelled by the presence or proximity of the imperial squadron,[1] which had received orders to blockade the lagoon on the side of the sea, and to cut off any supplies which might arrive from Dalmatia or the East. It therefore seemed equally impossible to weary the patience, or defy the power, of their formidable foe; and the voice of distress was soon heard above the voice of indignation. At this critical juncture, however, when the republic was almost reduced to the cruel alternative of famine or servitude,

[1] Romanini (i. p. 263).

the news reached Venice, that Otho had died of an ague at Rome, leaving the reins of government, during the long minority of his son, in the joint hands of Adelaide and Theophano.[1] The joyful tidings were confirmed by the instant removal of the interdict, and a message of sympathy and peace from the court of the regency. And the Venetians who, for a moment, had almost despaired of their liberty and independence, were still a nation (December, 983).

But the loss of his patron, and the frustration of his projects, were a terrible blow to the pride and ambition of Stefano Caloprini, who found himself placed, by the death of Otho, in a position of peculiar embarrassment and difficulty. He saw that, while he was an object of mingled aversion and contempt in the eyes of his own commune, the views of the court of Verona towards him had undergone a great and unfavourable change. It was not likely that the former would listen, under the circumstances, to terms of accommodation: the latter might even refuse to afford protection to the rebellious subjects of a friendly state; and should his overtures to Memo be more successful than he expected, the exile felt a natural repugnance to humble himself before a people, over whom he had once hoped to rule with the name of a lieutenant and the power of a dictator. Yet Stefano appears to have yielded, in the end, to the wishes of his children and adherents, who were desirous of being restored to their homes. At his solicitation, Adelaide consented to

[1] Muratori (v. p. 464); Sismondi (i. p. 256); Lebeau (xvi. pp. 166-7).

perform the part of mediator; and the republic, unwilling to displease the court of the regency, acceded without seeming reluctance to the return of the emigrants. The elder Caloprini, however, lived not to avail himself of the indulgence, which he had sought; the sense of shame and disappointment, of baffled spite, and defeated ambition, weighed too heavily on the mind of one, who had nigh completed the allotted term of human life; and his two sons, Marino and Stefano, were forced to return fatherless to a country, and among a people, of whom they had deserved so ill.

But when they returned to Venice, the two brothers found that their rivals, who had turned the unfortunate affair at Castello to the best advantage, still preserved the political ascendancy, which they owed to that circumstance, and that, while the enlistment of the doge and his kindred in the ranks of the Morosini rendered that family the most powerful in the republic, the same cause operated in a contrary way on the interests and influence of the once great house of Caloprini. It was with indignation and chagrin, that the latter observed the triumphant insolence displayed by the faction, which had thus usurped their place in the confidence and goodwill of Memo, and the impunity, with which the new favourites of that weak-minded prince committed acts of the most unjust and unwarrantable nature: nor could they conceal from themselves the mortifying fact that, although their countrymen might have been led to assent to their recal by motives of policy, they, as well as their adherents, were still regarded by every class of the community with

secret suspicion and dislike.[1] When the state of feeling between the two leading families in Venice was such, it can hardly be accounted strange, that the civil war, which had ceased, since the death of Domenigo Morosini, to occupy any considerable share of public attention, broke out afresh with more violence and malignity than ever. The shameful contest lasted several years. Yet no definite result was attained, and no pacific tendency was visible; and to such a degree, at last, was the spirit of partisanship exasperated by open hostilities and petty acts of annoyance that one day, as Marino and Stefano Caloprini were returning homeward, and on the point of entering their gondola, they were overtaken and assassinated by four of the adverse faction.[2]

This atrocious and execrable deed brought the struggle to a crisis and a close. The whole capital resounded with cries of horror and vengeance. All demanded justice; some clamoured for blood; and in the poignancy of her grief, and the height of her indignation, the mother of the Caloprini was heard to invoke the wrath of Heaven on the heads of the murderers. It was in vain, too, that the doge disclaimed any connection with the authors of the recent outrage; the people, persuaded of the contrary, and inwardly bent on removing him from the chief magistracy, found it intolerable, that their lives and their liberties should be placed at the mercy of a profligate faction and

[1] Nor was that house (extinct in 1207) ever afterwards invested with any office of dignity and trust, either in the church or the state, as if the hatred and suspicion, which the treason of the three Caloprini had created in the public mind, could not be erased even by the hand of time.

[2] Sandi (i. p. 320); Tentori (iii. pp. 238-40).

of a prince, who was known to connive at its worst acts; and after a not uneventful reign of nearly twelve years, the successor of Sanudo V. concealed his shame and apprehensions beneath the cowl (991). Had the lot of Tribuno Memo been cast in the eighth, instead of the tenth century, his fate might have been more cruel; had he lived two centuries later, he would scarcely have met with treatment so gentle.

Six days, however, subsequently to his enrolment among the brethren of Saint Zacchary, the ex-doge died suddenly. His remains were consigned with due solemnity to the vault, where reposed already the sacred ashes of Angelo Badoer and Pietro Trono, the two heroes of Albiola; and the bust of Memo,[1] placed on a pedestal in the chapel of San Giorgio Maggiore, showed that the monks of Saint Benedict did not forget how much their order was indebted to the patron of Giovanni Morosini.

Tribuno Memo was succeeded by Pietro, the only son of Orseolo the Holy. The new doge was just entering on his thirtieth year. And, although he had had as yet no opportunity of displaying his talents, the people, in giving him their suffrages, felt a secret and somewhat superstitious presentiment, that his subsequent career would justify their choice, and realise the prediction of a parent and a Saint.

[1] Cicognara (*Monumenti piu conspicui di Venezia*, ii. pp. 386-7).

CHAPTER VI.

PIETRO ORSEOLO II., DOGE—ACQUISITION OF DALMATIA AND ASSUMPTION OF THE TITLE—OTTONE ORSEOLO, DOGE—PIETRO BARBOLANO, DOGE—ORSO ORSEOLO, DOGE—DOMENIGO FLABENIGO, DOGE—ABOLITION OF HEREDITARY SUCCESSION AND ASSOCIATION—DOMENIGO CONTARINI, DOGE—REVOLT OF ZARA—DOMENIGO SELVO, DOGE—BATTLES OF DURAZZO AND CORFU—DEPOSITION OF SELVO—VITALI FALIERO, DOGE.

On his accession to the chief migistracy, Pietro Orseolo II. hastened to draw the attention of Adelaide and Theophano to the inroad of John, bishop of Belluno, in 983, into the territory of Citta Nuova; and the court of the Regency, always well disposed towards the Venetians, acceded with readiness to the application of Maurizio Morosini, the Ducal envoy and advocate,[1] for an inquiry into the circumstances of that dastardly and unprovoked outrage. The evidence adduced before the imperial tribunal at Pavia, was clear and conclusive; the boundary line of Venice and Belluno was defined in favour of the republic; and the bishop was formally adjudged to make compensation for the damage, which he had inflicted on the property of the citizens of Citta Nuova, in the time of the Doge Memo. The prelate, however, having found some technical flaw in the form of procedure, appealed against this decision.

[1] This is the earliest mention of the *Avogador* in his capacity of legal magistrate of the commune.

A second trial was demanded and allowed. It was attended by a similar result. Still Giovanni hesitated. On the one hand, he was apprehensive of incurring the displeasure of Adelaide, should he refuse to comply with the sentence; on the other, he was prompted by avarice and pride to persevere in his temporising policy, the worst consequences of which might, he again flattered himself, be averted by the friendship and protection of his suzerain, the Duke of Verona. But his doubts were removed by a speedy and distinct intimation from the court of Pavia that, unless he fulfilled, without delay, the judicial award, recourse must be had to measures of a more severe and stringent nature; and the stubborn churchman, awed into obedience by the firm and peremptory tone of the empress, indulged his resentment by ordering all the Venetian residents of Belluno to quit that city and see. Orseolo, however, who was apprised by the exiles themselves of this new turn of affairs, easily reduced his feeble and splenetic neighbour to submission by a suspension of the usual commercial intercourse between Belluno and the lagoon; and the difference having been settled satisfactorily, after some delay and dispute, the relations of the bishop with the Venetian commune regained their original footing, though it may be safely assumed that the former did not readily forget his vexation and disgust at the unforeseen issue of an act, which he had committed eight years before in the full confidence of impunity.[1]

[1] Sagorninus (*Chronicon*, p. 86); Filiasi (vi. p. 235); Marin (ii. p. 226); Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. 1); Saint Marc (*Abrégé Chron.* ii. p. 904); Romanini (i. p. 269); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 467).

A short time prior to the abdication of the late doge, his son Maurizio had been sent to Constantinople to conclude a new commercial treaty between the republic and the Empire; and the noble ambassador had just arranged the preliminaries, when the news of his father's deposition and death recalled him to Venice. The negotiation was at present, therefore, in a state of suspense; and Orseolo, fully sensible of the advantage of an early settlement of so important a question, sent a representative in the same year (991) to the Byzantine court, to treat in his name, and that of the republic, with Basilius and Constantine, who still jointly ruled the eastern remnant of the empire of Augustus. The result of this mission, which was eminently successful, was a *chrysobole*,[1] in which the privileges and immunities already enjoyed by the Venetian traders in Constantinople, and throughout the realm, were acknowledged and confirmed, and the duty, chargeable on each cargo of Venetian produce or merchandise in Greek ports, was reduced from *twenty-five* to *two* soldi.[2] The former rate was, undoubtedly, heavy and exclusive; but the lucrative and easy nature of the new tariff was, on the contrary, calculated in every way to advance the national prosperity, by throwing open the advantages of commerce to more general enterprise and competition.

The relations of the republic with the German empire of the West were formally renewed in an interview, which Otho III. granted at Mullhause to Giovanni Sagornino,[3]

[1] Marin (ii. p.211); Depping (*Commerce du Levant*, i. p.151).

[2] The *soldo* was equal to about £2 of our money.

[3] He was accompanied by Giovanni Orseolo, the eldest son of the doge, yet still of tender years.

on the 19th July, 992; and those relations were rendered still more friendly and favourable in a second audience, which the emperor gave to Sagornino and Pietro Gradenigo, on the 1st May, 996. A space of four years intervened, it is true, between the two embassies; yet, for the sake of perspicuity, the text and terms of the treaties, which were obtained from his Majesty on both occasions, may be reduced to a series of articles. 1. The grants of Otho II. and his predecessors were acknowledged and confirmed. 2. The right of the Venetians to hunt and fish, on certain easy conditions, in the woods and rivers of Istria, was also recognised. 3. A treaty was sanctioned with the Bishop of Treviso, by which the duty chargeable on each gallon of wine imported by Venetian traders into that diocese, was fixed at half a *danaro*, and on the salt and other commodities, at a fortieth part of the whole.[1] 4. A similar treaty was sanctioned with the Bishop of Ceneda, by which it was stipulated that the port of Gruaro, on the Livenza, should belong to the republic, on condition of the payment of a certain sum of money, an annual tribute of sixty pounds of oil from the ducal fisc, and an oblation of equal value to the church of St. Titian, by each Venetian resident. 5. The port of San Michele del Quarto, on the Silis, was opened to the republic. 6. All Venetian serfs, who might take refuge in the imperial dominions, were to be restored to their owners. 7. The claim of the republic to any property, which her citizens might have acquired in Lombardy, was

[1] Provided, however, that the amount of salt exceeded three hundred bushels; otherwise no charge was to be enacted.

fully admitted and allowed. 8. Any Venetian, who was guilty of a crime or offence of whatever nature, was to be amenable only to a Venetian tribunal.[1] The act, which conferred these valuable privileges was duly ratified by Otho, and a fine of five hundred pounds of gold (*lire piccioli*), one moiety of which was payable to the imperial treasury, the other, to the aggrieved person, was nominally incurred by any of his subjects, who might dare to violate the provisions of the new international treaty.

Yet the highly advantageous compact, which he had thus made with the empires of the East and West, did not altogether satisfy Pietro Orseolo; that enlightened prince, intent on promoting the welfare of his country, and anxious, with this view, to afford Venetian enterprise a wider sphere of action, determined, in spite of the prejudices of the age, in which he lived, to enter into negotiations of a similar character with the misbelievers of Barbary, Egypt,[2] Syria, and Tartary. What was the result of those distant and important missions, we have unfortunately no means of stating with any degree of accuracy. But a contemporary writer affirms that the doge succeeded in establishing relations of a friendly and favourable character with the Saracens of Italy, Sicily, and Algiers; and history also speaks with some confidence of the treaties, which

[1] Marin (ii. p. 220); Filiasi (*Sul Antico Commercio dei Veneziani*, pp. 27-32).

[2] It is to be remarked, however, that the Venetians visited Alexandria in Egypt in the early part of the ninth century; for at the period of the translation of the body of Saint Mark (829), two merchants belonging to the republic were trading in that port with ten galleys.

his envoys concluded, on behalf of the merchants of Venice, with the khans of the Crimea, and the petty princes of Cairo, Medina, Damascus, and Tunis.[1]

But while the bold and sagacious policy of the republic was thus leading to the exploration of the more remote and sequestered regions of Europe and Asia, an event occurred, which might well tempt men, who remembered the bad times of Sanudo IV., and of Tribuno Memo, to imagine, that the goddess of Fortune had been hoarding and accumulating her favours of late years, in order to lavish them the more profusely on the country of the Doge Orseolo. About a century before his accession, the Venetian traders, seriously troubled and alarmed by the predatory and piratical incursions of the Narentines, had privately[2] consented to purchase a security for their vessels and merchandise with a yearly tribute. Orseolo, justly considering that such a compromise, under whatever form or disguise, cast a grave reflection on the national honour, without providing any durable remedy for the evil, refused to sanction any future remittances of the kind; the tax was, consequently, discontinued in 996; and so vehement was the indignation of the corsairs at this insolent *breach of faith* on the part of the republic, that it was judged expedient, or even found necessary, perhaps, to despatch six armed galleys to the Adriatic, under the command of Badoer Bragadino, to protect the Venetian flag, and to scour the Gulf. That small squad-

[1] Filiasi (vi. p. 241); Tentori (iii. p. 232); Romanini (i. p. 269); Daru (i. p. 120).

[2] Sandi (i. p. 330); Tiepolo (*Discorsi*, i. pp. 64-65).

ron, as it cruised along the opposite shore, met and defeated a Narentine fleet of greatly superior force, and after taking by storm the citadel of Lissa, one of their strongest fastnesses, returned to the lagoon with an ample booty and a considerable number of prisoners.

By a somewhat curious coincidence, as it may appear, a deputation from the maritime towns of Istria had waited on Orseolo, not long previously,—partly of their own accord, partly, it is said, at the suggestion of the Venetian residents of Zara and Justinople,—and having represented to him the cruel and intolerable nature of the tyranny, which they were at present suffering at the hands of the petty sovereigns of Dalmatia and Croatia, as well as the heavy losses which, to some extent in common with the republic, they continued to experience from the inroads of the pirates, had expressed a hope and a wish to improve their condition by changing their masters. This manifestation of the good will of the Istrians toward his commune,[1] and the important successes since obtained by the Admiral Bragadino with the little squadron under his orders, led the doge by a natural process to the conclusion, that the conquest of the whole line of coast might be achieved without much difficulty. The deputies were consequently dismissed with the confident assurance of early protection and relief. In the popular assembly, a proposition, on which much diversity of opinion might naturally exist, was received with general favour and enthusiasm; to his new project the doge found few dissentient voices; and a few months after the departure of

[1] Lucius (*De Regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ*, lib. iii. ch. ii.).

the Istrian delegates, two hundred vessels of various dimensions might be seen lying among the shallows of Malamocco and Caorlo, awaiting the signal to heave anchor, and to hoist sail, for the Dalmatian expedition. The supreme command of the fleet was given or left to Orseolo himself. The lieutenants of the doge were Andrea Michieli and Luca Barozzi.

It was on the 18th May, 997, that the fleet left its moorings, and directed its course toward Castello, where the doge was received by the bishop of the place, Domenigo Gradenigo, and conducted to the church of Saint Peter. There, after the usual preliminary of mass, the blessing of Heaven was invoked on the new undertaking; and, at the conclusion, Gradenigo delivered to Orseolo, with a few words of encouragement and flattery, the great standard of Saint Mark. The doge then re-embarked, and repaired to Grado, where he was met by the patriarch, Vitali Sanudo, followed by a solemn procession of the clergy and the people: his Serenity received at the hands of Sanudo the sacred banner of Saint Hermagoras. From Grado the whole armament sailed with a westerly wind successively to Pirano, Omago, Emonia, Parenzo, Rovigno, Pola, Zara, Spalatro, Trau, Ossero, Arbo, Veglia, Sebenigo, Belgrado, Lenigrado, and Curzola. All those places appeared to welcome the Venetians as their deliverers, and each readily took an oath of allegiance to its new suzerain. At Zara, where the merchants of Venice had formed their earliest settlements, and where the people exhibited peculiar devotion and enthusiasm, Orseolo spent six days; and during that stay, he received, but

dismissed without an audience, the deputies of Dircislaus, king of Croatia, whose alarm at the rapid and successful progress of the expedition rendered him desirous of conciliating the republic. At Trau,[1] he found the brother of the king, Cresimir by name, who implored his Serenity to aid him in establishing a joint claim to the throne of his father, from which it appeared that he had been recently driven by the perfidy of Dircislaus. Orseolo gave no specific promise: yet he entertained the matter favourably, and even consented, shortly afterwards, as a mark of his friendship and esteem, to the union of his own daughter Hicela with the son of the Croatian prince.

So far the enterprise had scarcely amounted to more than a triumphal procession. Everywhere, excepting at Curzola, which offered a slight and momentary opposition to the Venetian arms, the same readiness, and even alacrity, had been displayed to bow the neck to the yoke of the islanders; and, certainly, if we may judge from the enthusiastic reception, which awaited Orseolo at all the places, which he visited along the coast of Dalmatia, we should infer, that the annexation of the maritime towns of that province to the Dogado was felt, at the time, to be a measure of mutual policy and wisdom.

But the campaign was far from being at a close. A great difficulty was still to be overcome. Lesina, the principal member of the Illyric group, and the chief resort of the pirates, still remained untaken; and the doge, having sent ten galleys from Trau, to ravage the coast of Narenta, hastened with the main squadron to accomplish that object. The position of Lesina, which lay almost mid-

[1] Lucius (*Memorie Storiche di Trau*, p 11).

way between Brazza and Curzola, was rendered almost inaccessible by the breakers and crags, which jutted out in all directions from the shore, and obstructed, in a large measure, the navigation of the gulf; the town itself, which was strongly fortified, was approachable on the side of the sea only, by a steep and rocky escarpment;[1] and the inhabitants, while they half inclined to the general superstition that the place was impregnable, were fully prepared, should the Venetians persist in their undertaking (which, from the obstacles to be surmounted, seemed exceedingly doubtful), to defend their liberties and their lives to the last extremity. Orseolo, however, entered the harbour of Lesina without hesitation; and, the usual summons to surrender having produced no effect, an order was given to commence the assault. In a short time, every element of medieval warfare was brought into play; volleys of stones and clouds of arrows darkened the air; and while the soldiers of the garrison took more deliberate aim at the enemy with their cross-bows and mangonels, the citizens themselves, gathering courage and energy from despair, hurled from the heights every missile, which came to their hands, or yielded to their strength. But the steady discipline and strenuous valour of the besiegers gradually surmounted every impediment; the Lesinese shrank in dismay from the tempest of stones and darts, which poured without cessation over their walls; the escarpment was scaled; a tower was invested and taken; the Venetians entered the town;

[1] We learn from Cicero (*Ep. ad Familiares*, lib. v. ep. 10) that this very stronghold had defied, one thousand years before the birth of Orseolo, the utmost efforts of the Roman general, Vatinius, who was obliged to raise the siege of Lesina, after taking four towers.

and, after a brief interval of license and confusion, the arrival of the doge restored order and tranquillity. The judicious clemency of Orseolo forgave the resistance, and conciliated the esteem, of the vanquished; and such was the powerful effect, which the reduction of a place, generally thought to be unassailable, produced on its neighbours, that, so soon as they heard of the fall of Lesina, the Ragusans despatched an embasy to offer their allegiance to the conqueror.[1] At the same time, the ten galleys, which had undertaken to explore and lay waste the coast of Narenta, rejoined the main squadron, with forty Croatian prizes found and secured in the gulf; and this collateral success, which might be partly instrumental in humiliating King Dircislaus, afforded no slight satisfaction to Orseolo. Having thus, in the course of a few months, completed the circle of his glory, the doge concluded the campaign by dictating unconditional terms to the corsairs of Narenta, who were commanded to respect, in future, the Venetian flag, and to indemnify the republic for the losses, which they had inflicted on her commerce during a period of one hundred and seventy years. The pirates acquiesced in these hard conditions with more promptitude, we apprehend, than sincerity; and Orseolo, on his part, having returned to the capital, and communicated to the National Arrengo the wonderful success, which had attended their arms, was solemnly proclaimed *Doge of Venice and Dalmatia* (998).

The total defeat of the Narentines, and the subjection of the maritime towns of Istria and Dalmatia to her sway, assigned to Venice the dominion and sovereignty of the

[1] Luccari (*Annali di Ragusa*, p. 7).

Gulf, which now bears her name. And in the tenth century it was, when no other European power was in a position to dispute her claim, that the republic became actual mistress of the sea,[1] with which her marriage was celebrated by a later generation, and in each succeeding year, down to a period within the memory of living men.

A wide difference existed in the dispositions, which the various towns of Dalmatia had shown toward Orseolo and the republic: yet the same yoke was imposed on all; and it must be confessed that the policy, which the Venetians adopted in regard to their dependencies, was characterized by greater wisdom than justice. The government of the new province devolved on a certain number of Venetian citizens, who were nominated by the doge, and on whom his Serenity in some cases conferred, besides the official designation of *Podesta*, the honorary title of *Count*. Thus his son, Pietro Orseolo, became Podesta and Count of Ragusa; his grandson, whose name was also Pietro, Podesta of Spalatro. Maffeo Giustiniani was sent, at the same time, and with a similar object, to Zara; Vitali Michieli, to Belgrado; Marino Memo, to Curzola; Giovanni Cornaro, to Sebenigo; and Domenigo Polani, to Trau. Each fief was required to bring a yearly subsidy to the treasury of Saint Mark. Pola promised to send two thousand pounds of oil;[2] Ossero, forty sables; Veglia, fifteen sables, and thirty fox-skins; and Arbo, ten pounds of silk. Moreover, Pola undertook to guard

[1] Paul Sarpi (*Jurisdictio Reip. Ven. in Mare Adr.* p. 2); John Selden (*Mare Clausum*, ch. xvi. p. 119); Amelot de la Houssaye (*Hist. du Gouvernement de Ven.* i. p. 292).

[2] Also, if we may credit Martino da Canale (*Chronaca Veneta*, ch. v.), a free gift of cotton to the dogaressa.

the Dalmatian coast between her promontory and Rovigno; and Spalatro engaged to furnish two armed galleys and a sloop which, in ordinary times, might be applied to a like purpose, and, on an emergency, form part of a contingent. The nature and amount of the tribute, exacted or accepted from the other dependencies of the republic, are not known to us; but, so far as regards the latter, it is to be supposed that it was regulated by the wealth and importance of the tributary.[1]

One point, however, not undeserving of notice, remains to be mentioned. Subsequently to 998, the chapters of Trau and Spalatro, which had hitherto confined their loyal enthusiasm to the praises of the pope and the emperor, included in their litany the name of the doge of Venice, whose virtues they commemorated, after those of his Holiness, in chorus, and on whose head they invoked every blessing and benefit in perpetuity. The new litany began thus[1]: "*Exaudi, Christe, Exaudi, Christe: Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.* To our most pious and blessed father, the most merciful Silvester, by Divine Providence the sacred pontiff of the holy Roman and universal church, be praise, honour, and grace, and heavenly triumph. *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.* To our most serene and excellent prince and sovereign, Pietro Orseolo, by the grace of God, doge of Venice and Dalmatia, be honour, praise, and glory, and perpetual triumph." We do not pretend to

[1] My authorities for the above are Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. i.); Filiasi (vi. pp. 262-3); Marin (ii. p. 273).

[2] Johannes Lucius (*De Regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ*, lib. ii. p. 72).

attach very great importance to the foregoing innovation: nor does it appear, that it was ever adopted in any of the other cities of Dalmatia. But the Venetians of that day justly regarded it as a flattering tribute paid to them, and to the eminent man, who then occupied the first place in their commune; and the sequel will shew that, at the time that it was effected, and long afterwards, the introduction of the name of the Doge of Venice into the litanies of Trau and Spalatro, was very far from being a mere matter of form. In a later age, however, when such a homage was, indeed, purely nominal, the Seignory, we find, was so well pleased to preserve the ancient custom, that each of the two chapters before mentioned received for the purpose from the ducal fisc an annual pension of fifteen *lire* (about £20).

In the following year (999) the forty Croatian merchantmen, which the Venetians had taken in the late campaign, were restored at the earnest and repeated solicitations of Dircislaus, with the exception of six, which the doge thought fit to reserve as a material guarantee. At the same time, the claim of Cavarzero to the petty and adjoining territory of Cervia and Loredo, which had been unjustly assigned to her, in 982, by Otho II., was declared null and void; and it is recorded that, not long afterwards, the town of Pieve di Sacco, situate near Padua, tendered her allegiance to the republic, with a promise to remit to the ducal fisc an annual tribute of 200 pounds of cotton.

The year 998, which witnessed the triumphal entry of Orseolo into his capital, was also distinguished by the

arrival of Otho III. in Italy. The prodigious successes of the doge, and the fame of his exploits, had found an echo in the most remote portions of Germany; and the emperor himself was possessed by a strong desire to enjoy and cultivate the friendship of the man, who had raised his country to such a conspicuous position in so short a time. Accordingly, when Sagornino who, as we have seen, had waited on his Majesty at Mullhause in 992, and again in 996, as the diplomatic agent of the republic, came to Ravenna to communicate the changes, which had taken place in Dalmatia, Otho handed the envoy a letter, addressed to Orseolo, in which he disclosed his intention of paying a secret visit to Rialto, adding, that a solicitude to drink the waters of Pomposa would be the avowed object of his journey. With six companions, attired and disguised, like himself, in the humble garb of pilgrims, the emperor started from Ravenna in a bark, which conveyed him as far as the harbour of Goro, and thence he repaired, according to previous arrangement, to the abbey of San Servolo, in Rialto, where the doge was holding himself in readiness to receive his distinguished guest, and to escort him to the palace. Four days formed the period of the emperor's stay. During that brief interval, Orseolo dined in public as usual, to avoid suspicion, his Majesty remaining in the private apartment, which had been prepared at Saint Mark's for his reception. The evening was spent in friendly discourse and devotional exercises; and when the fourth day arrived, and Otho prepared to take his leave, the doge presented to him, as a farewell gift, a costly silver cup and an ivory chair.

Shortly after his departure, Orseolo convoked the Popular Assembly; and having disclosed to it the rank and name of his recent visitor, his Serenity announced that, at his solicitation, the emperor had consented to waive the tribute of cloth of gold, with which his commune had been accustomed, since 982, to purchase the privilege of free trade in the ports of Italy.

Nor were the exertions of Pietro Orseolo confined within the narrow limits of Dalmatia and Friuli. In the month of April, 1004, the Saracens laid siege to Bari, in Apulia;[1] the city was reduced, during the whole summer of that year, to a state of strict blockade; and the Barese were already beginning to yield to the slow influence of famine when, in the middle of October, a squadron, commanded by Orseolo in person, entered the port without the cognizance of the enemy, and threw a large body of troops into the place. On the following day (Oct. 16), the confederates, led by the doge and the imperial Catapan, made a sudden and successful sally; and the Saracens, who were completely taken by surprise at the arrival of so great a reinforcement, found themselves

[1] Sansovino, however (*Ven. Descr.* lib. x. p. 439), says emphatically that the visit of Otho III. was a public one, and that, during his stay at Venice, a joust was held in his honour, in the courtyard of the palace, in which none but the most illustrious of the Venetians were allowed to take part, and that the reward of the victor was the hand of a beautiful maiden, named Camilla, with a dowry of 2000 ducats. This is a much prettier story, no doubt; but the point is, that Sansovino adduces no authority for deviating from the general view, and we must therefore sacrifice romance to what we consider the truth. I see, however, that the writer of an article in the *Rambler*, of March, 1853, adopts Sansovino's version; I cannot. Daru does not say a syllable about the matter, one way or the other.

under the necessity of raising the siege, and abandoning the enterprise. It is easy to conceive, that this important service was gratefully acknowledged by the Byzantine court, which still asserted a right of sovereignty over the south of Italy. But, although the successor of Otho III., who had died at Rome in the preceding year, ratified without comment or hesitation the commercial charter of the republic, and recognised Orseolo as doge of Venice and Dalmatia,[1] it is a question whether that prince was not more vexed by the participation of the Venetians in the triumph of the Greek emperor, than he was pleased by the share, which they took in the discomfiture of the common enemy.[2]

We have now seen, how Orseolo subjected to the sway of the republic the maritime towns of Dalmatia and the Illyric islands, which, whatever may be said to the contrary, certainly exchanged an uniform and constitutional tyranny for the manifold oppression of the pirates of the Adriatic, and the petty despots of Croatia; how, in his time, the republic acquired, in reality, the sovereignty of that sea, of which her position seemed to point her out as the mistress and the guardian; and how he repressed the inroads of the Narentines, who were taught to tremble at the name of Venice. It is time to turn to his works of peace.

In the course of two centuries, a large portion of the

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 232).

[2] The assistance which the republic rendered on this occasion to the Byzantine court, is acknowledged by Lebeau (xiii. p. 200); Faroldo (*Ann. Ven.* p. 79). The fact is also confirmed by the less partial testimony of Bonfinius.

town of Grado had, it appears, fallen in ruins, partly owing to the gradual process of natural decay, in part to the pernicious atmosphere of the lagoon. The doge rebuilt the town at his own expense. Several of the public edifices in the other islands were indebted for their restoration or embellishment, to the same munificent hand; and not satisfied, it might seem, with a single residence, Orseolo erected a new palace for himself at Citta Nuova. Thus it was that the house, to which he belonged, became popular and powerful; and it was by those means that the republic acquired greatness and renown, insomuch that foreign princes began to feel their dignity not lessened or compromised by intermarriage with the offspring or kindred of the chief magistrate of the Venetians. In 998, Hicela Orseolo, the doge's daughter, wedded Stephen, the nephew, and ultimately the successor, of the King of Croatia; his second son, Ottone, was betrothed to the sister of the King of Hungary; and his eldest son Giovanni was united, about the year 1005, to Maria, the daughter of Romanus Argyrus, and the niece of Basilius and Constantine, the joint emperors of the East. The nuptials of Maria Argyra and Giovanni Orseolo were solemnized at Constantinople with the same pomp and splendour as was customary at the bridal of the Cæsars; the patriarch of the Greek church, having pronounced his blessing on the youthful couple, placed on the brows of each a golden diadem; and their Majesties, desirous of conferring on their nephew some signal mark of distinction, created him a Greek patrician, a dignity to which, we find, no other Venetian ever attained. After the celebration of the

ceremony, and the accompanying festivities, which were extended over a period of three days, the prince returned with his bride to Venice, where he presented Maria to her future father; and amid the general enthusiasm, which prevailed on this auspicious occasion, the latter was invited by the people to admit his eldest son to a share in the chief authority, and to declare him his successor.[1]

But, alas! shortly after the association of Giovanni, Venice was visited by an unforeseen and awful calamity. In 1006, the islands were desolated by the joint ravages of plague and famine, which, in the course of a few weeks, decimated her scanty population; and among the victims of the epidemic, were Giovanni himself and his youthful consort, who were laid side by side in the same vault, in order, it would seem, that the ashes of those, who had been united in life, might mingle in death. The loss of the child, who had been the earliest heir of his house and name, and on whom he had confidently counted as his successor, was a cruel trial of the fortitude of the bereaved parent; his energy and spirit were broken by such a sudden and severe affliction; and although the Venetians hastened, in their turn, to offer every consolation in their power to one who, in the hour of their distress, had exhibited such kind and anxious concern, although they prevailed on him to associate his second son, the Count of Ragusa, the illustrious Orseolo survived Giovanni scarcely more than a twelvemonth. This great doge was, at the time of his death (1008), only in his

[1] Saint Marc (*Abrégé*, ii. p. 924); Romanini (i. p. 288); Galibert (lib. iv. p. 42); Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 552); Daru (i. p. 133).

47th year; and so deep was the reverence and love, which were borne to him by every class of the community, that his son Ottone, who had hardly yet attained years of manhood, was allowed by general acquiescence to remain in sole possession of the chief magistracy. Nor did the new doge prove himself unworthy of the national confidence, and of such a father.

On his accession, Ottone[1] espoused the sister of the King of Hungary, to whom he had been some time affianced; and, on the decease of the venerable Vitali Sanudo in 1019, Orso Orseolo, bishop of Torcello, was raised to the primacy, the vacant see falling to their younger brother Vitali. Hicela, one of the daughters of the late doge, was, as we know, already united to the nephew of the King of Croatia: his other daughter Felicia became, shortly afterwards, superior of the abbey of Saint Anthony of Torcello. The fortunes of the house of Orseolo were in their zenith: we shall soon see them on the decline.

Cervia and Loredo, which were unjustly transferred by Otho II., in 982, to the adjoining town of Cavarzero, from the republic, of which they had formed an integral portion since the days of Luitprand the Lombard king, had, it will be remembered, been recovered by Venice toward the close of the last century, and at the same time, the rights of the Cavarzerese had been declared wholly groundless and void. Yet in 1016, a similar claim

[1] His name, we should mention, was originally *Pietro;* but when Otho III. visited Venice, in 998, he prevailed on Orseolo to change the baptismal designation for the august pronomen of the Hohenstaufen. So the second son of the doge became *Ottone* Orseolo.

was advanced by Peter, bishop of Adria; and he supported it by taking military possession of the places in question. The indignation of the doge at this unwarrantable act of aggression was excessive; his vengeance was speedy and terrible. A town, which had once held the dominion of the gulf, which still bore its name, was all but levelled with the ground; the whole vicinity was abandoned to pillage and sack; and the warlike churchman who, on the approach of Ottone and his troops, had endeavoured to effect his escape, was captured and conducted to Rialto, where, in the presence of the National Arrengo, he abjured humbly all intention of repeating the outrage.[1]

Two years later, Orseolo was forced to mediate between the Dalmatian colonies and his relative the King of Croatia, who had begun anew to make predatory inroads into the neighbourhood of Zara. The doge judged rightly, that too long a continuance of this state of affairs would be extremely prejudicial to the interests of his commune, as tending to weaken the confidence of the Istrians in her protecting power. He accordingly prepared a naval force without delay, crossed the Adriatic, surprised the Croatian troops in the act of spoliation, and drove them back into their own territory. Each fief renewed, on that occasion, its oath of allegiance; and Ottone, who viewed with reasonable suspicion the movements of Cresimir,[2] devoted the entire summer of 1018 to a cruise of observation along the coast of Dalmatia.[3]

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. ii.); Filiasi (vi. p. 301); Bonfinius (dec. i. p. 192).

[2] Cresimir had recently succeeded his eldest brother Dircislaus.

[3] Sandi (ii. p. 272); Lucius (*De Regno D. et C.* lib. ii. ch. vi.); Laugier (*Hist. de Venise*, i. p. 371).

On the decease of Domenigo Gradenigo, bishop of Castello, in the year 1025, his house succeeded in prevailing on the Synod to nominate as his successor his nephew and namesake, although the latter had scarcely yet attained his eighteenth year;[1] and the doge and the patriarch of Grado were solicited to give the necessary sanction. But that sanction was distinctly withheld; and moreover, in withholding it, the strongest disapproval was expressed by Ottone and his brother of the election of a youth, before he had reached years of discretion and experience, to so high and so sacred a dignity. The surprise of the Gradenigi at the refusal might be great: their indignation at the insult was infinitely greater; and they determined to leave no means untried of gratifying their resentment, and henceforth to look on all other objects as subservient and secondary to the humiliation of the too-powerful house of Orseolo. With this end in view, they naturally hastened to exert, or strove to conciliate, every influence, which might tend to promote it. The Flabenigi, and several other families of high standing and consideration in the commune, were successively induced by various motives to join the ranks of the new opposition. Pepo, Patriarch of Aquileia, and the avowed enemy of the Patriarch of Grado, was not solicited in vain to give them his support; and the intimacy of the latter with the Emperor Conrad II., encouraged a hope, that the court of Pavia would lend the partisans of Pepo its countenance and aid. At the same time, the basest and most poisonous reports were circu-

[1] *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. i. p. 18).

lated in regard to the two Orseoli;[1] the worst construction was placed on their past conduct; the worst views were taken of their ulterior designs. A prince, than whom few more liberal and moderate had yet reigned in Venice, was gravely represented as meditating the subversion, at no distant period, of republican principles and popular freedom. It was found intolerable that, in a free commonwealth, a single family should be allowed to exercise so much influence, and, above all, to exercise it so ill. And the time had come, it was said, for abolishing a system, which was gradually changing an elective magistracy into an hereditary despotism. There is, perhaps, no effect, which eloquence and speciosity will not produce on the fickle and volatile mind of the multitude; always apt to sacrifice the principles of honour, justice, and humanity to the impulse or whim of the moment. In spite of their grossness and want of foundation, the calumnious charges, which the Gradenigi brought against the doge and his brother, gained general credit among the populace; and the two Orseoli, driven by the fear of an insurrection from a country, where they had fallen into such sudden and unmerited odium, were forced to take refuge in one of the maritime towns of Istria.[2] Their departure enabled the Gradenigi to induct their relative into the see of Castello, and at the same time, afforded Pepo the hope of accomplishing his secret and perfidious design.

Assured, in a recent interview with Conrad, that his

[1] The animosity of the Gradenigi does not seem to have extended to Vitali Orseolo, bishop of Torcello, of whom we hear nothing during these movements against his two brothers.

[2] Romanini (i. pp. 296-7).

Majesty was too favourably disposed toward the unfortunate house of Orseolo,[1] to countenance or sanction the adoption of any hostile measures against the republic, on account of the metropolitanate; and, fully conscious of the impossibility of maintaining himself without external support, in a State, where he commanded no real sympathy or influence, the patriarch of Aquileia had, however, determined to confine his attempts, for the present at least, to a predatory inroad into the Dogado; and with this object in contemplation, he appeared, a few days after the flight of Ottone and Orso Orseolo, before the walls of Grado, demanding, in a loud voice, justice for his *brother* the primate, and his *friend* the doge. The tone and attitude of Pepo might have excited suspicions and misgivings in the minds of the citizens. His affected attachment to two men, both of whom, it was generally believed, he regarded with the deepest aversion, and his profession of concern for their misfortune, would have sufficed, it might seem, to betray and condemn him. Yet so masterly was his hypocrisy, or so great was their infatuation, that the Gradese actually consented, after some hesitation, to open their gates to his troops. The fatal and foolish mistake cost them dear. Their town was given up to pillage and sack; their walls were levelled, their altars were violated. In their greediness after plunder, the soldiers of Aquileia spared neither man nor God; the treasures, which the wealthy Patriarch Fortunato had, in the beginning of the ninth century, lavished on the church of Saint Euphemia, narrowly escaped

[1] Filiasi (vi. p. 309).

their sacrilegious rapacity; and Pepo, having collected the spoil, and established a garrison in the place, returned to Aquileia in triumph, and without molestation.[1] The news of this abominable outrage soon reached Rialto. The indignation of the people knew no bounds. The leaders of the opposition, who were generally, though, as we believe, unjustly, accused of instigating Pepo to the act, were forced, in their turn, to fly to Treviso. The Orseoli were solemnly recalled; and their first care was to drive the Aquileian troops from the metropolitanate.

But the faction, to whose pride and expectations the triumphal return of Ottone and his brother gave so severe a blow, had now for some time acknowledged as its leader, Domenigo Flabenigo, a man wanting, indeed, in those high qualities, which are held to constitute greatness, yet of superior parts, and possessing, in an eminent degree, the two essential requirements in a good partisan, extreme tenacity of purpose, and extreme narrowness of view. Moreover, Flabenigo was, from interest or inclination, avowedly and inveterately hostile to the engrossing policy of the Orseoli; and under such a chief, the party adverse to the reigning family speedily became more violent and formidable than ever.

The original ground of quarrel between the houses of Orseolo and Gradenigo had, it is true, been abandoned; the right of the nephew of the late Bishop of Castello to his uncle's surplice, was tacitly at least, if not openly,

[1] Saint Marc (*Abr.* iii. p. 110); Marin (ii. p. 278); Ughellus (*Italia Sacra*, iii. p. 58); Rubeis (*Monumenta Ecclesiæ Aquilejensis*, ch. lv. p. 526); Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 553); *Vitæ Patriarcharum Aquilejensium*, p. 11.

admitted; and men of limited powers of observation were doubtless of opinion, that the continued or renewed clamours and complaints of the opposition merely proceeded from a capricious spirit of resistance to lawful authority. But the fact was that, out of an incident, in itself comparatively trivial, had arisen a question of infinitely greater importance. The disputed succession to the see of Castello, and the violent dissensions, to which it ultimately led, had given a turn to the current of men's thoughts, which was hardly anticipated by the Gradenigi; and the subject, which was, at present, really occupying the attention of Domenigo Flabenigo and his party, was nothing less than the necessity of placing some severe restrictions on the ducal authority. Still, although it was now beginning to attract more general notice, the revision of the constitution was to be scarcely considered a new point of debate. It was, on the contrary, a question, which had been probably in agitation, at broken intervals, ever since the days of Angelo Badoer.

At the period, however, when Badoer was placed at the head of affairs in 809, the republic had just passed through a great political crisis. The battle of Albiola had been fought and won. The nation was overflowing with gratitude to the conqueror of Pepin. Besides, the bad times of Galla, Monegaro, and the two later Galbaii, were still fresh in the memory of men: and the Venetians, happy to escape, on any terms, from fifty years of feeble and odious tyranny, gladly and fearlessly reposed their confidence in the house of Participazio. Nor was that confidence misplaced. The Badoeri might be guilty, in

a few instances, of violent and arbitrary acts; but their policy was, generally speaking, singularly moderate and equitable, singularly bold and energetic; always aiming at the promotion of the national prosperity, always tending to exalt the national renown. Thus, those princes became popular and powerful. But their generation had now passed away. Two centuries had elapsed, since Angelo Badoer was laid in the vaults of Saint Zacchary; and in that long interval, a great, a wonderful change had come over the spirit and condition of the people, whom he once ruled. In that interval, the commune of Venice had largely increased in wealth, in population, and in territory; places, which were only known to the Badoeri as the resorts of outcasts and freebooters, had become her fiefs and her tributaries; the few hundred fugitives who, in the fifth century, found a precarious shelter in the salt-lagoon, from the fury of the Huns, had multiplied a hundred-fold; and the Venetian dominion which, even in the time of Tribuno Memo, merely comprised the Dogado itself, now extended, in the form of an irregular triangle, from Cervia to Frimiero, and from Primiero to Curzola, the last of the Illyric group. There was the same relation between the Venetians of the eleventh century and those Venetians, whom Angelo knew, as there had been between the latter and that primeval society of fishermen and salt-gatherers, which enjoyed an obscure freedom, and earned a scanty subsistence, among the lagoons of Caorlo, before the Lombard name was heard in Italy.

Yet, while it might be perhaps expected, that the entire

community had been benefited by the change, to which we have been calling attention, the truth seems to be, that the only class, which gained by it in reality, was the patrician order. The *Maggiori*, as they used to be termed, had, indeed, gradually assumed the appearance of a numerous, intelligent, wealthy, and powerful body; the political schism, which had taken place, at an early period, between them and the lower estates of the commune (*Mediocri* and *Minori*) was gradually widening; and by a similarly steady, though slow, process, the latter were losing influence and, relatively, caste. This apparent problem admits, we believe, an easy solution. To that exclusive and engrossing policy, which the original settlers in the salt-lagoon were led, by the singular position and limited extent of their new country, to adopt, those who came after them, had closely and systematically adhered. And that adherence cost them no great pains. For, in a State like Venice, where navigation took, in a large measure, the place of agriculture, and where the attention of the multitude was regularly drawn by their pursuits as pilots, mariners, and fishermen, from the management and progress of public affairs, it was not difficult for an oligarchy, so long as it was not divided against itself, to retain the governing prerogative and the succession to the ducal office in its own hands; and we accordingly find, that the very tribunitial families, which ruled and oppressed the republic in the sixth and seventh centuries, still preserved in the eleventh, their political ascendancy. A few of the *Mediocri* might have ascended to the higher estate; many more, we imagine, had lost their social caste, and had

been merged in the lower one. While the community were forced to confine themselves to subordinate or menial vocations, the trade, the property,[1] and the honours of the State were still enjoyed as a monopoly by the Memi, the Badoeri, the Sanudi, the Contarini, and several others; every merchantman, which left the harbours of Pilo and Castello for Dalmatia or the East, was fitted out at their expense, and laden with their exports; and it is no exaggeration to say, that every building, which rose in Venice, bore testimony to their wealth and their magnificence. They founded churches;[2] they endowed religious institutions, and established charities of every kind. The three principal monuments in the city—the palace of

[1] For instance, we know that the islands of San Giacomo del Paludo and San Giorgio Maggiore, formed part of the heritage of the house of Badoer. The Memi, again, possessed large estates in the vicinity of Malamocco. We have good reason, also, for believing that the streets of San Moisé, San Bragola, and San Pantaleone, belonged to the Michieli; at all events, they were acquired by that family in the following century. *See* Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 558); Giulio Faroldo (*Ann. Ven.* p. 119); Pietro Morosini (*Storia*, lib. v. p. 118); A. Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 963); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 293); Sandi (*Vite*, p. 501). At San Silvestre, in that part of the city, which was afterwards known as the *Sestiero* of San Marco, the Cornari appear to have had landed property at this time (Romanini, ii. p. 75); and adjoining the street of San Bragola, a large estate lay, belonging to the house of Molino. The Giustiniani likewise possessed a considerable share of land and lagoon, the former of which was valuable on account of its buildings, pastures, and olive-groves; the latter, on that of its salt-pits and fisheries. Consult Romanini (ii. p. 34), who also informs us, that it is probable that the islands of Gemelle or Zimole, belonged to the Polani family.

[2] Sansovino (*Chron. Ven.* pp. 9—12, 15—19, &c.); ibid. (*Venetia Descritta, passim*). According to the last-mentioned writer, the house of Marcurio, or Quintavalle possessed a large portion of the island of Olivolo or Castello from a very remote period. (*Venetia Descr.* lib. iv. p. 183).

Saint Mark, the Basilica, and the public hospital—were the work of a single member of their order, namely, Pietro Orseolo I.; his example was closely followed by his more illustrious son, to whom the Venetians owed the restoration of Grado, and the erection of a new palace at Citta Nuova; and, although the identical principle ultimately led to the fall of the republic, it is incontestable that it was the principle of oligarchy, inspired by the love of enterprise and the spirit of commerce, which formed the basis of her greatness and civilization. As a body, the patricians regarded with increasing discontent a monarchy, established on a popular basis, and decorated with a popular title. They were growing more and more dissatisfied with a form of government which, under the best and brightest auspices, *acknowledged* no distinction between a Morosini and the rower of his gondola, and which, were the chief magistrate ambitiously inclined, as was too often found to be the case, ended either in faction or in despotism. And it was with greater envy than pride that they saw men, who were but yesterday members of the same class and of the same commonwealth, affect to-day regal pomp and magnificence, and ally themselves in marriage with the daughters of kings. Nor was it unnatural that a section of the community, which had always done so much to promote the national welfare and glory, should thus desire to arrogate to itself the sovereign power, to transfer the reins of government from the hands of an individual to those of the order, to which he belonged, and to get rid, by degrees at least,

of a system, under which six or seven families[1] governed the republic from one generation to another, with all but royal authority, and by all but hereditary right.

These views were entertained, to a large extent, by Domenigo Flabenigo and his partisans, who were content, it might seem, to purchase the privilege of governing with the hope of governing alone. But they were, like all views, which are brought to a precocious maturity in the hotbed of faction, and adapted by a party to its own private and immediate ends, unsound, exaggerated, and distinguished by a peculiar violence and malignity. Their foundation and origin, indeed, were natural and good; it was only the superstructure, the work of the opposition, that was hollow and counterfeit. The truth was, that the opinions held by this patrician Cabal, were rational as well as rising opinions; but the fulness of time had not yet come. The popular element was still too strong; the aristocratic element was still too feeble and incompact. Nevertheless, a discerning eye might recognise, in that incipient movement, the first stage of a great social and political revolution. The signs of such a change were not to be detected, indeed, by careless or superficial observers: for the outward aspect of things remained much the same. The forms of election and deliberation had not lost, in any degree, their republican character. The meetings of the National Arrengo were

[1] The joint reign of the houses of Badoer, Sanudo, Memo, Orseolo, Tradenigo, Calbani, and Anafesto, extended, I find, over a period of two hundred and sixty-seven years; and the two first-named families, at least, were *tribunes* in the time of Theodoric, the Gothic king.

not less frequent, its authority was not less respectable, than in the days of Anafesto. The State, which the successors of the Doge Paolo Luca were called to govern, continued to be styled a *commonwealth;* and the people, over whom they were placed in authority, were still honoured by the name of fellow-citizens. But while the surface was so smooth, and so excellently calculated to gratify the prejudices, and disarm the suspicions, of the vulgar, there was a strong and steady under-current which, it might have been remarked by some, ran in a widely different direction. And that direction was toward aristocracy.

Because their views were extravagant, or because their arguments were specious, it is not to be supposed, however, that the opposition therefore failed in carrying their present purpose. The portion of the community, which it was the interest of Flabenigo and his party to win over to their side, was not apt to examine with too close a scrutiny, the soundness of those doctrines and opinions, which they received among them, or to weigh their value too nicely in the scale, the eyes and ears of the majority of people being infinitely more critical than their understandings. At the same time, experience had shown that, in an almost even-handed contest between two adverse factions, the inclination of the populace to either had the invariable effect of turning the balance of power; and the Patrician Flabenigo, aware of the necessity of having this advantage on his side, determined, soon after the recal of the doge and the primate, to have recourse to every means within his reach of animating the public mind of Venice

anew against the Orseoli and their supporters, toward whom he now bore the deadliest and most irreconcileable hatred, such a hatred, indeed, as men only, whose lot is cast in societies perpetually torn and divided by intestine discord, can feel without compunction, and avow without a blush.

The intrigues of Flabenigo were attended by a more favourable result in some points of view, than even he himself might have anticipated. The desired impression was produced by his false and slanderous disseminations on the mind of the multitude. Ottone was suspected and accused of aspiring to absolutism; and that really blameless prince, who had just reason to reproach with ingratitude a nation, which his father and his family had served so well, was once more obliged to seek among strangers the safety and repose, which were denied to him in the country of his birth. The illustrious exile found an appropriate and welcome reception at the court of the Emperor Constantine Ducas IX.,[1] whose heart was not unmoved by the sight of one so young and so unhappy. Yet, singular as it may seem, Flabenigo failed to attain his great end, which, it had now become tolerably clear, was nothing less than the succession to the vacant magistracy; that high office was bestowed on Pietro Barbolano (1026). How it arrived that the chief of the Opposition was thus foiled in his design, is a matter of doubt. Perhaps, success had produced jealousy and disunion among the members of the triumphant faction. Perhaps, the multitude, even while they gave credence to the tales of

[1] Lebeau (xiii. p. 234); Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. ii.).

his emissaries, regarded the intriguer with secret aversion and distrust. Perhaps, the influence, which had been unable to maintain Ottone in power, was still sufficiently strong to exclude his formidable opponent. This, we repeat, is a matter of doubt. On our part, we believe the truth to be, that Flabenigo was not generally liked. His violent politics were, we apprehend, distasteful to all men of independent views and moderate opinions. Besides, there were many quarters, in which his malignant persecution of the Orseoli was wholly and exclusively ascribed to motives of private pique and personal ambition; and this grave imputation, which was probably not groundless, had naturally rendered him obnoxious, not only to the family and kindred of the banished doge, but to all those who, in condemning the existing form of government, were actuated by a pure and conscientious patriotism, and whose attacks were, in consequence, directed against the system, which he represented, and not against Ottone individually.

The new Doge Barbolano, who probably owed his elevation to a faction, of which he was the organ and the chief, succeeded to the magisterial chair at a moment of unusual difficulty. The whole nation was in a ferment. The violence of party-spirit was at its height. A peevish and refractory humour pervaded all classes of society. A general feeling was gaining ground, that a grievous wrong had been done to the son of the illustrious Orseolo. Many regretted, on calm reflection, the course which they had taken, in the heat of passion, towards Ottone; and there was already, in several influential circles, a

secret longing for the return and restoration of that prince. It was in vain that Barbolano endeavoured to conciliate spirits by a just and energetic rule, or that he twice repelled the predatory inroads of the Patriarch Pepo of Aquileia; the people were angry and dissatisfied; and some even went so far as to charge the doge with being privy to the recent plot against his predecessor. It was equally in vain that, to please the Opposition, he recalled Domenigo Flabenigo from exile. The Opposition was in no want of a leader; nor could that leader bear a rival. This unsettled and ominous state of the public temper, which was favourable to the Orseolists in the same proportion, that it was prejudicial to Pietro Barbolano, might have been traceable at the time to causes, which can never be known to us, causes, which are constantly arising among a jealous aristocracy. It proceeded, undoubtedly, in some degree from the coexistence of three distinct and turbulent factions. But it was mainly attributable to the prospect and foretaste of the serious difficulty, in which the continuance of Barbolano in power threatened to involve his country. On the one hand, it was announced that Conrad II. had declined to renew the commercial charter of the republic, unless Ottone Orseolo was recalled. The Venetian flag was, in consequence, excluded from Padua, Treviso, Concordia, Aquileia, and the other ports of the peninsula; and the bold and menacing attitude of Pepo, who still hovered on the skirts of the lagoon,[1] encouraged a suspicion and a fear

[1] Muratori (vi. p. 84); Filiasi (vi. p. 311); Pietro Morosini (lib. iii. pp. 87, 88).

that the sentiments of his patron towards the Venetian commune were undergoing a complete change. On the other hand, the Byzantine court, with which the Orseoli had lately established relations of such intimate friendship, and where their cause was still farther strengthened by the succession of Romanus Argyrus to the throne in 1026, assumed an equally firm and peremptory tone. The chrysoboles of 998 were declared to be suspended. The ports of the Euxine and the Archipelago were closed against the standard of Saint Mark. These hostile and coercive measures were productive of considerable distress, annoyance, and perplexity. But they led to a salutary issue, in confirming a half-formed resolution; and the Venetians now hesitated no longer in adopting a course, conformable to their wishes, as well as their interests. A fresh reaction took place. Barbolano was compelled to abdicate, and to take the cowl. Vitali Orseolo was sent to Constantinople in quest of Ottone. And his elder brother, the Primate, having been declared, in the interval, Vice-Doge of the republic,[1] the unfortunate Flabenigo, who had hoped, now at least, to reap the reward of his intrigues, found himself once more under the necessity of withdrawing to Treviso.

But before the bishop reached his destination, Ottone had expired, the early victim, it is probable, of grief and mortification. The Doge was scarcely in his fortieth year. And it might have been remarked, as a strange circumstance, that he was the second of his family who, within a comparatively short period, had ended his days in a re-

[1] Muratori (vi. p. 84); Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. iv.); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 474).

mote land, far from the spot, where the ashes of his forefathers rested in peace. In 997 (Ottone was a child at the time), that Orseolo, whom men called the Holy, was laid by the pious brethren of Saint Benedict, among whom he had spent his declining years, in the vaults of Cusano. It was little imagined *then*, that the day would come, when the House, which the great and glorious achievements of Pietro Orseolo II. had rendered by far the most powerful in the republic, should be persecuted, banished, proscribed; and any one, who should have predicted in 998, that his son would be driven, in 1030, from his capital and his country by a large and influential faction, and that he would die in exile on the shore of the Bosphorus, would have only excited ridicule or merriment. Yet this was actually his fate. Ottone was buried at Constantinople, his brother the Bishop of Torcello assisting, in all probability, at the obsequies; and fully eight weeks must therefore have elapsed, before his countrymen were aware of the heavy loss, which they had sustained. The effect, which the unexpected announcement produced, was powerful and instantaneous. Deep was the sorrow, and great was the self-reproach, of the Venetians, when the news of his melancholy end brought to their recollection the services of his father and his grandfather, as well as his own good and estimable qualities; and there were few even among those, who had been foremost in clamouring for his deposition and banishment, that did not, on that day, accuse themselves in their hearts of baseness and ingratitude. It was amid

this general and continued reaction in favour of the house of Orseolo, that the Primate was invited, as a mark of public sympathy and good will, to assume the sceptre without relinquishing the pallium. Orso acceded with extreme reluctance to the request; and during the ensuing fourteen months, he united, in his own person, the temporal and spiritual dignities. But, on the expiration of that period, the churchman grew weary of the active duties of the magistracy, which were ill suited to his character and disposition; and, having obtained permission to resign the berretta, he returned to the discharge of his ordinary functions (1033).

His abdication seemed to be regarded by his youngest brother Domenigo, who was, at this time, the leader of a small, yet compact and influential faction, as a favourable opportunity for gratifying his ambition; and without staying to procure or solicit the popular suffrages, he summarily declared himself doge, and took possession of Saint Mark's. The result of that foolish and arbitrary step was curious as well as instructive. The indignation of the people at a proceeding, which they justly considered as a violation of the constitution, and an insolent infringement of their peculiar prerogative, exceeded all bounds. The Opposition readily caught and echoed the popular cry: "The chief magistracy of the republic, was not," they said, "to be converted into a patrimony for the Orseoli." And the doge of a day, having vainly essayed to maintain his ground against immeasurably superior numbers; was ultimately forced to

escape from the palace by stealth, or under cover of the darkness, and to seek shelter at Ravenna.[1] The grossly injudicious conduct of Domenigo Orseolo completely marred the fortunes, which he had apparently intended to arrest in their fall, and to re-establish in his own person: for, under the influence of a mixed feeling of alarm and disgust at the arbitrary usurpation of the dogate, the Arrengo conferred the vacant berretta on Domenigo Flabenigo, who was escorted from Treviso to Venice by a solemn deputation of the nobles and the clergy (1033).

On his accession to the chief magistracy, Flabenigo hastened to carry into execution a design which, it would seem, he had long harboured in secret, and which consisted in an endeavour to procure a sentence of perpetual banishment against the odious house of Orseolo, or at least, a declaration that that family was henceforth incapacitated from holding any public office. In this attempt he was unsuccessful. There is, indeed, an appearance that an edict of proscription and exile was contemplated; it is not improbable, that the motion of Flabenigo received ready support from the faction, adverse to the late reigning house; but there is proof, almost amounting to certainty, that the decree, if it was passed at all, never took effect.[2]

[1] It is said that he died there shortly afterwards, but whether of mortification or some disease, is a matter of doubt. See for this, as well as the general statement, Marin (ii. p. 282); Vianelli (*Storia de Vescovi di Malamocco e Chioggia* (part vi. p. 52); Dandolo (lib. ix.).

[2] On this subject M. Daru has the following passage (i. p. 140-1). "La proscription fut générale; on punit la tyrannie en l'imitant. La famille entiere (referring to the Orseoli) fut chassée, et ses nobles descendants, toujours traités en enemis publiques pour la faute d'un seul, n'ont jamais pu trouver un asyle ni sur ces rivages, que leurs ancêtres

Such a violent proposition surpassed even the measure of party spite and popular ingratitude. But, on the other hand, a strong anxiety was generally manifested to apply

avaient sommis, ni dans ces villes, qu'ils avaient rebaties, ni dans cette capitale ingrate, qu'ils avaient ornée de glorieux monuments." It will be seen by a perusal of the above extract, that I differ from M. Daru. I consider it necessary to state my grounds for doing so. 1. There is incontestable evidence that, in 1040, that is to say, six years after this alleged proscription and expulsion of the family in question, Orso Orseolo was still Patriarch of Grado; his brother Vitali, still Bishop of Torcello. See Dandolo (lib. ix. pp. 241-2); Romanini (i. p. 304); Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 553); ibid. (*Chron. Ven.* pp. 36-7). 2. There is an authentic record, dated June, 1065, and entitled *Sentenza in Materia di Confini*, respecting a limitation of properties, in which the parties concerned are Maurizio Memo and *Pietro*, the son of the unfortunate *Domenigo Orseolo*, on the one side, and the Abbey of the Trinity on the other; and in which it is said, that the litigants *ad legem venerunt ante nostram præsentiam in portico de mansione Stephano Candiano;* showing that if the said Pietro Orseolo was not actually resident at Venice, he was, *at least*, a landed proprietor there, at that period. And this is the more curious, since it might be supposed that, had any branch of the family been proscribed, it would have been that, of which the son of Domenigo Orseolo was the representative. 3. In a treaty, dated December, 1094, regarding the restoration of the town of Loredo, first comes the signature of the Doge Vitali Michieli I.; then that of Pietro Badoer, Patriarch of Grado: thirdly, the signature of Arrigo Orseolo, *Judex Communis.* In the same document, I should mention, *Ottone Orseolo* is recorded as a witness. 4. In another, dated June, 1160, respecting a public loan, which appears to have been contracted in that year, the name of *Pietro Orseolo* is recorded as a witness. 5. In a public act, bearing date June, 1166 (see Dandolo, lib. ix. pp. 252-4), and concerning the mode of electing the Count of Arbo, *Pietro Orseolo* signs his name third after the Doge Vitali Michieli II. 6. Sanudo (*Vite de Duchi de Ven.* p. 514), and Doglioni (*Cose Notabili di Ven.* lib. i. p. 60), state that the deputies sent to Naples to treat with Frederic Barbarossa, in 1177, were Jacopo Centranigo and *Filippo Orseolo.* 7. In a document, quoted textually by Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 524), and relating to another loan, the name of Pietro Orseolo appears, in conjunction with three or four others, as a contributor thereto. This

some lasting remedy to an evil, the growth of which had been brought by recent events, more prominently than on any foregoing occasion, before the public eye. This

document bears date 1187. 8. Andrea Dandolo, a very candid and exact historian, though exceedingly dry and phlegmatic, and living five hundred years nearer the period of which he wrote and we are speaking than M. Daru, says nothing about the banishment of the Orseoli. Mark Dandolo's words. "His diebus," says he, "reperitur statutum, ut Dux creandus consortem, vel successorem non faciat vel fieri permittat eo (se) vivente." His editor, the learned Muratori, who was for some time librarian at the Ambrosian, adds, it is true, in a footnote, a marginal remark, which he found in the codex of Dandolo in that collection, to this purport:—"Alibi est legere Dom Flabanicum curasse ut decretum fieret a populo, ut quis ex domô Ursеolâ amplius dux esse non posset et ut omnes in exilium mitterentur." But it must be borne in mind, that these are not Dandolo's words, and that they are simply inserted marginally in the Ambrosian edition as a various reading. 9. Romanini, a writer of immense research, merely says, in reference to this subject:—"La reazione contro gli Orseoli audo tant altre fino a decretarsi quella famiglia in perpetuo incapace a qualunque degnita politica nello Stato." This is, according to him, in 1034. Yet I must add, three pages farther on he says, speaking of a general synod held in 1040, "A cui intervenuero fra gli altri Orso Orseolo, Patriarca di Grado, e Vitali Orseolo, Vescovo di Torcello." Again, in page 332, we stumble on a passage, where Arrigo Orseolo subscribes himself as Judex Communis, and Ottone Orseolo as a witness; and lastly, in page 395, we have the treaty about Loredo quoted textually. I cannot close this long note without expressing my surprise and regret that Salverte (*Civilization*, part viii. p. 76), and De la Houssaye (*Hist. du Gouvernement de Venise*, p. 141), as well as the author of the seventeenth volume of the *Art de verifier les Dates* (p. 448), should have fallen into this manifest, though certainly far from obvious, mistake. From the various passages or authorities, which I have brought forward in corroboration of the view taken by me, the inference to be drawn is, as it seems to me, simply this: the motion was made by Flabenigo, and, even if it was successful, it was never carried into execution. In conclusion, I shall refer the reader to the following passages, in addition to those which I have cited already, and which tend to support my statement:—Romanini (i. pp. 303-5, 373-8, 392-4-5, 401); Sanudo (*Vite*, pp. 475-99);

evil, which was the increasing, though almost perfect resemblance of the dogate to an hereditary monarchy, and the gradual, though almost complete, absorption of all political power and influence by an oligarchy of six or seven families was however, in very truth, not easily or promptly curable. It was a disease, which the State had been slowly contracting during several centuries; several centuries must elapse, it was felt and feared, before it was wholly subdued; and the only remedy, which men were able to suggest at present, was a curtailment of the ducal authority. It is difficult to believe, that the doge himself took the initiative in a question, which affected him personally, no less than those who came after him, and which must, of necessity, detract considerably from the importance and splendour of the dignity, which it had cost him such infinite pains to attain. Yet the passions of men have strange and unforeseen issues; and Flabenigo might not improbably deem himself pledged to advocate the cause of political reform, even when the adoption of such a course became altogether adverse to his own interests. Besides, there are strong reasons for doubting,[1] whether the doge had either any children, or any near kindred, whom he might associate, and to whom he might leave the crown; and, if this was really the case,

Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 290); Vianelli (*Stor. de Vesc. di Mal. e Chiozzia*, part vi. p. 53).

[1] De Houssaye (*Gouvernement de Ven.* p. 141). In the public records of the period, moreover, I see no mention of any other Flabenigo, and it was usual, where the doge had a son, even though that son were not a colleague, for the latter to sign his name in the third or fourth place. If he was associated, he took precedence after his father.—See Romanini (i. pp. 386, 390, 395).

he acted, it is not unlikely, on a feeling, that it was within his power to earn a cheap reputation for patriotism by introducing a law, which should impose on his successors the same restraint, which nature had imposed on him. The measures, which were taken in Arrengo, at his suggestion, or with his approval, were the following. 1. Association and hereditary succession were abolished for ever. 2. The tribunitial duumvirate, eligible by the doge, which had apparently fallen into disuse, was declared to be restored in the persons of Domenigo Selvo and Vitali Faliero, whose sanction and concurrence were pronounced necessary, in future, to the validity of all public acts.[1] 3. His Serenity was strongly recommended, in any intricate matter of statecraft, to seek the advice of the wisest of the citizens.

But it is to be remarked that, although they appeared to be great encroachments on the ducal prerogative, the two latter innovations were, in reality, of very secondary importance. For, so long as the election of the two gastaldi, who were thus once[2] more associated with the chief magistrate, was suffered to depend entirely on him, and he was at liberty to choose them among his own kindred or adherents, it is sufficiently obvious, that they would hardly be allowed to exercise in general any influence over his conduct or policy, which they might not otherwise have exercised as members of the same family or of the same

[1] Sandi (ii. p. 378); Tentori (iii. p. 267); Romanini (i. p. 301).

[2] This duumvirate was originally created, it will be remembered, in 755-6, to aid and control the Doge Domenigo Monegaro, in the exercise of his authority. The two who were then chosen were Candiano Candiano and Angelo Badoer, the latter of whom was tribune of Rialto.

faction; and so far as that is concerned, the *recommendation* to take counsel, on all occasions of peril or difficulty, with those who, by their wisdom and experience were most entitled to credit, was much less binding in its nature and much more nominal.

The reign of Flabenigo, however, afforded the republic ten years of profound tranquillity, at home as well as abroad; and during that period, the Venetians were indebted to him, in addition to the changes, which he introduced into their political system, for several useful and salutary measures of ecclesiastical reform.[1] These valuable services, and the enjoyment of a blessing, which they had scarcely known since the days of Pietro Orseolo II., and which was unquestionably due in some measure to the justice and moderation of his government, must have gone far to reconcile the people at large to a man, whom they long viewed with no favourable eye, and whose elevation had been a matter of policy, and not of inclination. Nor is there any ground for supposing, that the Doge Flabenigo proved himself at all unworthy of the high position, which he was called to fill by the voice of the nation, and which he certainly owed, in a very great degree, to the ill-judged or ill-advised precipitation of Domenigo Orseolo. His public career was only terminated by his death in the year 1043; he was succeeded by Domenigo Contarini.[2]

[1] I shall refer to these reforms more particularly in another place.

[2] Contarini obtained the renewal of the mercantile charter from the Emperor Henry III., through his deputies, Domenigo Selvo and Buono Dandolo.

In the following year (1044) Pepo appeared once more as an aggressor and a conqueror: once more Grado was taken, pillaged, and dismantled. The popular indignation at this fresh outrage was in strong favour of an instant appeal to arms. Yet the prudent doge anxious, it would seem, to afford no ground for subsequent complaint or recrimination against the republic, determined to solicit, in the first instance, the interposition of the Holy See. Benedict IX., who then wore the tiara, expressed his sorrow, as well as his astonishment, at the recent conduct of Pepo; he denied and annulled the title of the Patriarch to the Gradese metropolitanate, to which he had attempted to establish a claim on the alleged concession of his predecessor John XX.; and he concluded by regretting, that the Aquileian was so powerful and so obdurate as to render other compensation impracticable.[1] The sudden death of the latter, who expired without even receiving extreme unction, anticipated the result of the mission. And, on their return home, the Venetian deputies learnt, that their troublesome enemy was no more, and that the Aquileian troops had been driven from Grado by the forces of the Doge Contarini.

The year 1050 was productive of a more important event, namely, the defection of Zara which, it was speedily announced at Rialto, had yielded to the overtures of Solomon, King of Hungary, and expelled her aged Podesta, Maffeo Giustiniani. The Venetians were apprehensive that, unless prompt measures were taken

[1] Ughellus (*Italia Sacra*, v. p. 417); Laugier (i. p. 308); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 242); Faroldo (*Ann. Ven.* p. 87); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 476).

to suppress the revolt, their other colonies in Dalmatia would, in the hope of recovering their *liberty*,[1] follow the example of the Zaretines; they hastened therefore to avert the danger, which they felt to be impending; and a fleet, commanded by the doge himself, was soon on its way toward the rebellious fief. The Zaretines obstinately refused to obey a summons to surrender; the doge exhibited his power by taking their town, and his clemency by sparing it; and having simply recommended them not to incur, by any similar act, the future vengeance of the republic, he exhorted them to respect the authority of the new podesta, whom he gave them in the person of his own son Marco Contarini.[2]

The reduction of the town of Zara was the last incident, which distinguished or disturbed the long and tranquil reign of Domenigo Contarini, who was succeeded in 1071 by Domenigo Selvo—that Domenigo Selvo, perhaps, who in 1034 had, in conjunction with Vitali Faliero, been associated in authority with the Doge Flabenigo. We learn from a contemporary writer,[3] that the election of Selvo was purely popular, and that, on the decease of his predecessor, the representatives of the people, from Grado to Cavarzero, came of their own accord to San Nicolo del Lido, and exclaimed with one voice, *Noi volemo Dose*

[1] Johannes Lucius (*De Reg. Dalm. et Croatiæ*, lib. iv. ch. ix.); Constantine Porphyrogenita (*De Admininistr. Imperii* (ch. xxix.); Marin (ii. p. 288); Paolo Morosini (lib. iv. p. 89).

[2] Filiasi (vi. p. 331); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 476).

[3] Domenigo Pino (*Narratio de Electione Dominici Selvii Ducis Venetiarum*), quoted by Romanini (i. p. 309). I have not been able to see the original myself.

Domenigo Selvo e lo laudiamo,[1] whereupon, it is said, the object of the national choice was instantly declared doge, and solemnly encrowned.

Fifty years before his accession, the *Normans* had founded in the southern part of the peninsula a new monarchy; and so rapid had been the growth and development of it that, in 1080, Robert, the brother of Unfroi Guiscard, the first of the dukes of Apulia and Calabria of that line, found himself the protector of the Roman pontiff, and the successful rival of the German Emperor of the West.[2] But the ambition of Robert Guiscard soared still higher; the effeminate languor of the Greeks, and the disordered state of Italy, encouraged him to believe, that it was within his power to restore, in his own person, the ancient unity of the empire under Augustus; and with this mighty scheme in contemplation it was, that he entered the Mediterranean in the early part of the following year, with a large fleet at his disposal, took Butriuto and Corfu, and laid siege to Durazzo.

The avowed object of the duke in invading the Greek territories, which was the reinstatement on the throne of the lawful Emperor, Michael Ducas, had, however, in the meanwhile, been regarded with the most unfeigned alarm and anxiety by the usurper, Nicephorus Botoniates; and the latter, trembling for his personal safety, and finding in the scanty resources of the Byzantine court no ade-

[1] "We wish for our doge Domenigo Selvo, and approve him." Selvo, we should recollect, was one of the deputies accredited to Henry III. in the time of the Doge Contarini.

[2] Sismondi (*Republiques Italiennes*, pp. 263-4, 285-6); Denina (*Revoluzioni d'Italia*, ii. p. 7).

quate means of averting the threatened danger, had solicited the aid and protection of the republic of Venice; while he offered to the doge, as a particular mark of his esteem, the hand of the Princess Theodora, the daughter of the late Emperor, Constantine Ducas XI.[1] Selvo, on his part, accepted with pleasure the offer of so honourable a marriage; and the Venetians who, from other causes, regarded with equal apprehension the movements of Guiscard, and whose present interest it was to support the feeble successors of Valens on their tottering throne, were naturally predisposed to lend a favourable ear to the request of Nicephorus. The promise of the hand of Theodora Ducas to their chief magistrate, and the receipt of intelligence, that Robert had attempted to corrupt by overtures and promises the fidelity of their fiefs in Dalmatia,[2] which they already held by such a frail and precarious tenure, conduced to strengthen their half-formed determination; and in the month of August, 1081, a fleet of sixty-three sail,[3] under the command of Selvo in person, left the lagoon for the Mediterranean, to raise the siege of Durazzo, and to protect the maritime frontier of the empire.

Selvo passed the Ionian Isles without encountering the slightest opposition, and arrived at length off Cape Pali.[4]

[1] L'Art de verifier les Dates (xvii. p. 449).

[2] Filiasi (vi. p. 349).

[3] Marin (ii. p. 290); Sabellico (lib. iv. p. 92).

[4] Anna Comnena (*Hist d'Alexis, traduite par Coussin*, lib. iv. p. 150); Malaterra (*Hist. Sicula*, lib. iii. ch. xxvi.); Gulielmus Apulus (*De Northmannorum gente Poema*, lib. iv.). Romanini (i. p. 314) makes a strange mistake, as far as I can see, about this place, which he calls *Porto detto*

Here his vessels became windbound. A few light barks were sent forward however, to ascertain the position and movements of the enemy; and these announced, on their return, that the Norman fleet, under Guiscard himself, was lying at anchor in the bay of Durazzo, eight or nine miles distant. But, as soon as he was apprised of the near approach of the Venetians, the Duke of Apulia, altogether unprepared to receive a sudden attack, and wholly unconscious of the helpless condition of his adversary, resolved to have recourse to a temporising policy, and his son Bohemond, whom he charged with the task of opening negotiations with Selvo, having assured the latter, that Guiscard was actuated by no feeling of ambition or hostility toward the empire, and that his sole object in invading the Greek frontier was the restoration of Michael Ducas to the throne, concluded by soliciting, in this undertaking, the aid and concurrence of the republic. The doge, who perhaps felt that, in his present situation, he could scarcely afford to be candid, affected to entertain the insidious proposal; he ultimately begged that night to reflect on the matter; and, so soon as the ship, which had brought Bohemond to Pali was lost in the dusk of evening, Selvo directed the lighter vessels to tow the men-of-war into the bay of Durazzo, where the whole fleet was drawn up, under his eye, in the form of a crescent, the caraks being placed in the front, and the smaller frigates in the rear. On the former might be seen lofty

Pallia, evidently under the impression that it was a harbour, not a cape: for he says, "La flotta, condotta dal stesso Doge Selvo, *entre nel porto detto Pallia*, a tre miglia da Durazzo." I can see no such place as Port Pallia, whereas the position of Cape Pali is clearly indicated on the map.

and storied castles of wood; and in each of these floating fortresses was stationed a large body of soldiers and marines who, in addition to the ordinary weapons used in medieval warfare, were provided with a supply of huge fagots pointed with iron, which they might let drop from that elevation with fatal accuracy on the decks of the enemy's ships. All the arrangements preliminary to an action were completed in the course of the night; and at daybreak, the forces of Selvo were seen lying in excellent order within a short distance of the mouth of the bay; while it was found, that the Normans had taken up a position between the Venetian squadron and the shore. But the latter had been out-manœuvred. The rapid and masterly movement of the doge had been wholly unexpected. And although the Duke of Apulia had at once perceived that a battle was inevitable, and had, in like manner, made all the necessary dispositions during the preceding night, it was clear, that he little expected to be cooped up in such a way, that his superiority of numbers would prove less an advantage, than an encumbrance.

Under these circumstances, which Selvo had rendered by his skilful tactics so favourable to himself, the struggle commenced with the daylight; and it was maintained for some time on both sides with equal vigour and equal success. Guiscard himself was foremost among the combatants; and his son narrowly escaped capture in leading an attack on the Venetian line. But the steady valour of the islanders, combined with their tried discipline and consummate dexterity, was not to be resisted; their opponents, who might own that they had at last found a foe

worthy of their arms, gradually lost ground; and after a strenuous, but vain endeavour to regain his position, the Duke of Apulia was forced to acknowledge the superior fortune of Venice and Saint Mark. His defeat raised the blockade of Durazzo; the conqueror, after giving audience to an embassy from Botoniates, who was anxious to congratulate and compliment Selvo and his officers on the success, which had attended their exertions, entered that town in triumph; and having placed his son in command of the garrison, which was already composed, in principal measure, of Venetian residents,[1] he returned with his fleet to Rialto (1081).

Toward the close of the same year, Botoniates was deposed, and succeeded by Alexius Comnena.

The genius of Guiscard, however, speedily retrieved his disaster; and two months after the naval battle of Durazzo, he met and defeated a Greek army, commanded by the emperor in person. But it was already November. The enemy was in full retreat. And the duke, desirous, on his part, of reposing on a victory, resolved to fix his quarters for the winter at Joannine, where he might keep a watchful eye on the works, which he had thrown up during the campaign round Durazzo, and on which the operations in the following year largely depended.

On the approach of spring, the place was invested anew; and the formidable nature of the artillery, of which Guiscard had formed his besieging train, seemed to

[1] Lebeau (xv. pp. 144, 145, 179); Filiasi (vi. pp. 363-4); Anonymus Barensis (p. 6, notes 42-3); Muratori (vi. p. 272).

ensure a successful result. Yet, if the issue of the undertaking was still in any degree doubtful, that doubt was quickly removed by a strange and unforeseen contingency. It appears that a Venetian noble, who resided at Durazzo, and commanded one of the principal towers, had been recently piqued at some hasty or unguarded expression of the Governor Selvo; to repair his honour, or indulge his resentment, Domenigo conceived the design of betraying his trust; and three days after his arrival at Durazzo, Guiscard was secretly informed that, provided he was willing to requite the service in a suitable manner,[1] that part of the fortress, over which the traitor was placed in charge, should be left purposely defenceless and accessible on a certain night (22 February, 1082). Robert acceded to this base proposal with somewhat discreditable eagerness; the usual assurances of friendship and fidelity were exchanged; and, at the specified hour, the Norman troops, having entered the open tower in silence, surprised the citadel, and ultimately forced Selvo and the Venetian garrison to evacuate the town, which was confided by the duke to one of his own officers.[2]

The campaign of 1082, which had been thus inaugurated by the fall of Durazzo, was also distinguished by the reduction of Castoria, and several other towns in Thessaly; and had not the terrible reverses of his son Bohemond in the peninsula, and the solicitations of the

[1] Gibbon (ch. lvi. p. 332) says positively that a rich and honourable marriage was the price of the Venetians' connivance. But he cites no authority for this, and I have not seen such a statement in any other writer.

[2] Romanini (i. p. 317); Gulielmus Apulus (*Poema*, lib. iv.).

Holy See, recalled him; at that juncture, from the East, the Duke of Apulia might have shortly placed on his own head the golden diadem of the empire of Romania.

The multifarious concerns of his kingdom detained Robert in Apulia till the month of September, 1084, when he once more quitted the port of Otranto, with a powerful fleet, and directed his course toward Corfu. But, in the meanwhile, Comnena, alarmed by the recent successes and the fresh preparations of his indefatigable foe, had intimated to Selvo that, should the republic again consent to enlist herself in the cause of the Byzantine court, her exertions should be rewarded with new commercial privileges. And the emperor even added, that he would endeavour to raise a naval contingent. Those conditions had been promptly accepted; and in the early part of October, 1084, the doge, having a large and well-organised squadron under his orders, set sail a second time for the Ionian Isles. He encountered the enemy, of whom he was in search, between Corfu and Cephalonia.

On this occasion, the arsenal of Venice had furnished Selvo with nine men-of-war of more than ordinary dimensions, in addition to a large, though uncertain number of vessels of lighter draught; the Norman fleet consisted of twenty caraks and a hundred frigates. In point of numbers, therefore, the advantage was greatly on the side of the latter: yet the battle which ensued, terminated speedily in favour of the Venetians, and Guiscard was under the necessity of ordering a general retreat. A second engagement took place three days later; it was attended by a similar result; and the victorious doge,

acting on the reasonable, but dangerous belief, that the enemy was too much discomfited to rally, sent back to Venice all the vessels, which appeared unable to contend against the increasing inclemency of the season, and retired with the rest to the coast of Albania, where he intended to watch the movements of the Normans, and await their departure.

The sequel showed, however, that the reduction of the island squadron at that stage of the operations was extremely premature and ill judged; Guiscard who was quickly apprised of the step, wisely determined not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of renewing hostilities; and this determination was strengthened by the statement of Pietro Contarini, a Venetian deserter of rank,[1] that the doge was altogether ignorant of the temper of the Normans, and wholly unprepared for action. The information of the traitor Contarini was found to be perfectly correct. The sudden and impetuous attack of Guiscard took Selvo completely by surprise, and threw his forces into utter confusion. The caraks became unmanageable. The frigates and a large proportion of the galleys were gone. And, as if anything was wanting to add to his distress and perplexity, the Greek contingent, stricken by a panic fear, fled in dismay, having scarcely exchanged a blow with the enemy. Still the courage and self-possession of the doge did not desert him in that trying moment. On the contrary, every effort, which might help to extricate himself and his fleet from the perilous position, in which they were placed, was exerted by Selvo; and

[1] Romanini (i. p. 324). The motive of Contarini is unknown.

had the vessels, which were now, perhaps, directing their course toward the lagoon, been at his disposal, or, indeed, had he at all anticipated the attack, he felt that, even under such disadvantages, he would have easily achieved a third triumph. But it was then too late. The enemy was pressing forward on every side. His line was outflanked and overwhelmed. Five of his caraks foundered; two fell into the hands of the Normans; and 2500 Venetians were killed or taken prisoners.[1] The doge himself barely succeeded in effecting a hasty and disorderly retreat with the remains of his shattered squadron (November, 1084).[2]

It was toward the close of that year, that the Venetians beheld the wreck of their fleet, and learnt the disastrous result of the battle of Corfu; and a defeat, which entailed the heaviest domestic affliction on so many families, and spread such terrible havoc among a scanty population,[3] naturally gave rise to great discon-

[1] Filiasi (vi. pp. 369-70); Romoald of Salerno (*Chronicon*, p. 175); Pietro Giustiniani (lib. i. p. 19); Paolo Morosini (lib. iv. p. 91); Sabellico (lib. v. p. 98); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 477); Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. viii.); Giacomo Diedo (lib. iii. p. 53). I admit the figures of the first-named writer.

[2] Romanini (i. p. 324) says, however, that the prisoners were afterwards released.

[3] I have very grave doubts whether Venice was at this period, as Gulielmus Apulus (*Poema*, lib. iv.) will have it, "dives virorum"; for, toward the close of the twelfth century, the census only showed a population of 67,000 souls. On the other hand, it is not easy for a stranger to form a correct estimate of the population of a maritime state, especially one so chorographically peculiar as Venice, where the departure or return of a fleet, or a convoy of merchantmen, the celebration of a festival, or the holding of a fair, caused it to fluctuate so much.

tent and repining. Men were not unwilling to believe, that Selvo had exerted his best efforts to *avert* the calamity; and those, who had been present at the battle, might bear testimony to the energy and skill, which he had shown to the last moment in the face of overwhelming numbers. But the general opinion was that, independently of those considerations, the conduct of the doge was justly open to two serious charges. In the first place, it was urged that, although he defeated the Duke of Apulia twice in the course of four days, he had neglected to use that double victory; secondly, they said that, in suffering Guiscard to take him by surprise, he had exhibited too much confidence and too little circumspection. These were grave imputations. They were, moreover, unanswerable; and even the warmest defenders of Selvo could only adduce in palliation the unsuspected treachery of Pietro Contarini, the glorious campaign of 1081, and the other public services of the doge during a reign of thirteen years. It also unfortunately happened, that there was, at that time, a large and influential faction in Venice, whose interest and aim it was to encourage the belief in the negligence and incapacity of their chief magistrate; the leader of this party was Vitali Faliero Dodoni,[1] a member of one of the most ancient, as well as the most illustrious, families in the republic, and an avowed candidate for the vacant berretta. Yet such was the success, with which he ope-

[1] This title of Dodoni (De Donis) was simply, I apprehend, a distinctive appellation of that particular branch of the house of Faliero. The etymology, or rather the meaning of the etymology, is doubtful.

rated on the public feeling, and such ready credit did his base and exaggerated representations obtain among the lower orders, that Selvo was forced, in the course of December, 1084, to tender his resignation. Dodoni succeeded him. His election had probably been a pre-concerted measure.[1]

Shortly before his deposition, however, the Doge Selvo had lost his consort Theodora, the daughter of the Greek Emperor Constantine Ducas XI. The luxurious extravagance of this lady forms a favourite theme with the chroniclers of those times; and the narrative of Damianus especially, who was, after Sagorninus, the earliest writer on Venetian history, presents an amusing sketch of her mode of life, which may serve, in some slight degree, to illustrate the manners of the period. Every morning, we are told, when the dogaressa rose, her cheeks were bathed with dew, which was found to impart to them a beautiful freshness and glow. Her ablutions were performed in rose-water. Her clothes were scented with the finest and most delicate balsams. Her hands (says Damianus in astonishment) were covered with gloves,—from which it might be inferred, that the Venetian ladies were content, at that period, to leave the hand exposed. Her chamber was saturated with essences and aromatic perfumes, insomuch that it was not unusual for her attendants to faint during the tedious process of the toilet. In conclusion, the chronicler informs us that, in conveying the food to her mouth, Theodora was wont to employ the medium of a golden fork. Such

[1] Romanini (i. p. 325).

sinful voluptuousness and inordinate indulgence brought with them (I still quote Damianus) their own punishment. About two years after her marriage with Selvo, the dogaressa contracted a disease of the most loathsome and revolting description,—the fruit, if we may credit our authority, of too early and too long an addiction to luxury and sensual enjoyment;—the malady, which grew upon her too fast to admit the hope of cure or recovery, became at last intolerably nauseous; and the daughter of Ducas, an object in her latest moments of mingled pity and disgust to all around her, was left to die in agony, almost in solitude.[1]

The language of Damianus favours a supposition, that the Greek princess was guilty of introducing into the republic many false refinements and fantastic elegancies, which were till then *unknown* to the daughters of the Contarini and the Morosini. We doubt, however, that such was the case. That the Venetian ladies of the eleventh century were too plain and simple in their tastes to copy or admire the fashions of the Greeks and their effeminacy, is by no means unlikely; but we see no ground for the belief, that that simplicity proceeded from their ignorance, rather than their virtue. On the contrary, there is incontestable evidence that the Venetian traders frequented Constantinople so early as the year 800; towards the close of the following century, they had established a regular commerce with the Levant; and

[1] I borrow this account from Sabellico (lib. iv. p. 92); Marco Guazzi (*Chronica*, p. 196); Romanini (i. p. 310); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 247); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 477).

even in 940, when Luitprand, the envoy of Berenger II., King of Italy, passed through Rialto on his way to the ancient capital of the world, he observed the rich costumes and polite bearing of the citizens, which might have offered a strong contrast to the rude attire and ruder manners of the Franks and Lombards of his day. Luitprand had now been dead upwards of a hundred years; and in this long interval, the genius and enterprise of the great mercantile houses of Barozzi, Michieli, Badoer, and others, had developed and promoted, to a wonderful extent, the national civilization. In this interval, it must be remembered, Pietro Orseolo II. had reigned. And we are led, on the whole, to incline to the view, that the Venetians of the age of Selvo were as familiar with the manners and customs of the peoples, who dwelt on the shores of the Euxine and the Archipelago, as with the cotton, that was spun at Pola, or with the wine, which was brought from Justinople. If they had not been corrupted by their intercourse with the Levantines, their escape must be ascribed, we conceive, not to the scantiness of their knowledge, but to that inherent love of simplicity, which, in general, characterises new societies, more especially those, which adopt, at the period of their formation, the republican system of government.

The nuptials of Maria Argyra and Giovanni Orseolo have been recorded in the annals of the tenth century; those of Theodora Ducas with Domenigo Selvo consequently offered the second instance, in which a princess of the royal house of Constantinople had been united to a

scion of the Venetian nobility; and it might be considered by some as no insignificant testimony to the power and importance of the republic, when the successors of Valens disdained not to give their daughters in marriage to the fishermen of Rialto.

There was still another feature in his reign, which shed a lustre over the memory of the Doge Selvo. The reader may remember that, during the revolution of August, 976, which proved fatal to the fourth Sanudo, the ducal palace fell a prey to the flames; and that his successor, Pietro Orseolo, taking into his consideration the general distress, which prevailed at that conjuncture, drew from his private resources the sum requisite to defray the expense of its restoration. It appears, however, that he left the work unfinished, and that the palace was not wholly completed in all its parts till the reign of Domenigo Contarini (1043-71). Yet, although the principal and more conspicuous portions of the new edifice were built of stone, some had been left, or perhaps even reconstructed, in the ruder material. It was the taste and munificence of Selvo, which removed this obvious and unaccountable blemish; while he rendered the form of the building infinitely more beautiful, and its proportions more striking, by the addition of marble columns, and commenced the decoration of the walls of the interior with painting and mosaic-work,[1] a vast undertaking, the continuation and completion of which he bequeathed, as a legacy, to the succeeding generation. But thus it was that Venice came to owe her

[1] Cicognara (*Monumenti*, i. p. 19); Galibert (ch. xii. p. 274).

grandeur, as well as her greatness, to a few wealthy and eminent citizens, members of the same order, advocates of the same principles; and that, without the ordinary aid of grants from the commune, her public buildings soon wore an aspect of magnificence, which inspired her neighbours and contemporaries with wonder and admiration.

CHAPTER VII.

VITALI FALIERO DODONI, FIRST DOGE OF VENICE, DALMATIA, AND CROATIA—NEW TREATY WITH THE BYZANTINE COURT—RESTORATION OF LOREDO—THE MAGISTRATI DEL PROPRIO—PLAGUE AND FAMINE AT VENICE—DEATH OF DODONI—VITALI MICHIELI, DOGE (1096)—PARTICIPATION OF VENICE IN THE CRUSADES—RECOVERY OF FERRARA BY THE VENETIANS ON BEHALF OF THE COUNTESS MATILDA (1102)—DEATH OF MICHIELI (MAY, 1102)—ORDELAFO FALIERO DODONI, DOGE (1102-17)—WAR WITH PADUA (1110)—DEFEAT OF THE PADUANS ON THE BRENTA—FRESH EXPEDITION TO SYRIA (1111)—WAR WITH HUNGARY—THE BATTLE OF ZARA (1115)—DEFEAT OF THE HUNGARIANS—VISIT OF HENRY V. TO VENICE (MARCH, 1116)—RENEWAL OF THE WAR WITH HUNGARY—SECOND BATTLE OF ZARA—SECOND DEFEAT OF THE HUNGARIANS (JUNE, 1116)—THIRD BATTLE OF ZARA—FALL OF THE DOGE—ROUT OF THE VENETIANS—FIVE YEARS' TRUCE WITH HUNGARY—DOMENIGO MICHIELI, DOGE (1117-28)—FRESH EXPEDITION TO SYRIA—BATTLE OF JAFFA—SIEGE OF TYRE—TREATY BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC AND THE KING OF JERUSALEM—TRIUMPHAL RETURN OF MICHIELI TO VENICE—SACK OF THE IONIAN ISLES—RECOVERY OF THE DALMATIAN COLONIES FROM HUNGARY—OCCUPATION OF CEPHALONIA BY A VENETIAN FLEET—ABDICATION OF MICHIELI (1128)—IMPROVEMENT OF THE VENETIAN POLICE DURING HIS REIGN—PIETRO POLANI, DOGE (1128-48)—ACQUISITION OF FANO (1141)—SECOND WAR WITH PADUA (1143)—RECOVERY OF POLA FROM THE PISANS (1145)—COALITION OF THE REPUBLIC WITH EMANUEL COMNENA AGAINST THE KING OF SICILY—SIEGE OF CORFU (1148)—DEVASTATION OF SICILY BY THE VENETIANS—DEATH OF POLANI—DOMENIGO MOROSINI, DOGE (1148-56)—VITALI MICHIELI II., DOGE (1156-72)—GENERAL STATE OF LOMBARDY—COLLISION BETWEEN VENICE AND SOME OF THE GHIBELLINE CITIES—HUMILIATION OF THE PATRIARCH OF AQUILEIA (1163)—FORM-

ATION OF THE LOMBARD LEAGUE (1167)—WAR BETWEEN VENICE AND THE EMPEROR COMNENA (1171-2)—RAVAGES OF THE PLAGUE AMONG THE TROOPS OF THE REPUBLIC—ASSASSINATION OF MICHIELI (27 May, 1172).

In the spring of the year 1085, arrived at the Golden Horn, Andrea Michieli, Jacopo Orio, and Domenigo Dandolo of San Silvestro, the Venetian deputies, who were charged with the task of reminding Comnena of the engagement, into which he had so recently entered with the late Domenigo Selvo. The representatives of Faliero Dodoni now solicited the emperor to discharge the promise made to Selvo shortly before the disastrous battle of Corfu: and they even intimated, that the formal cession of Dalmatia and Croatia to the republic was a necessary prelude to the renewal of the campaign. Alexius deplored, perhaps, the weakness which prevented him from resisting or resenting the haughty and high demands of his insular allies: yet he might recognise in them the just and stipulated price of services rendered to his empire in a season of urgent need and distress. In the presence of the deputies, however, his Majesty relinquished all right to a province, which one of his predecessors had refused to resign to the greatest of the Carlovingian kings. He exempted the Venetian traders in all parts of the empire, excepting Cyprus, Candia, and Megalopolis, from all duties and imposts whatever. On Faliero, whom he acknowledged as Doge of Venice, Dalmatia, and Croatia, he conferred the title and revenues of a Protosevastos; and the church of Saint Mark was endowed with several houses in Durazzo and Con-

stantinople.[1] But the best testimony of the necessities of the Byzantine court, as well as the proudest monument of the growth of the Venetian power, was that clause in the new chrysobole, which adjudged each Amalfitan merchant, resident in the Eastern capital, to pay to the ducal fisc an annual tribute of three perperi[2] (about £12 of our money).

Alexius had thus redeemed his pledge; and Faliero proceeded, on his part, to open the campaign of 1085. The operations of the fleet, however, were of a languid and unimportant character; a few engagements took place on the Gulf of Taranto, between the Normans and the allied forces of the Greeks and Venetians, in all of which the former had the advantage; and in the course of May, Dodoni determined to withdraw from the contest. A few months later, the illustrious Guiscard died at Cephalonia, where he was making preparations for a fresh invasion of the empire;[3] and his death relieved the Byzantine court from all apprehension in that quarter.

In the mean time, the doge had returned with the fleet to Rialto: he was surprised to find the capital a scene of consternation and sorrow. Saint Mark had disappeared. The search and inquiries of the priests had been fruitless.

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. ix.); Lebeau (xv. p. 180); Filiasi (vi. p. 382); Sandi (ii. p. 394); Teutori (iii. p. 308); Giannotti (*Magistrati di Venetia*, p. 138); Quadri (*Compendio*, p. 105); G. Diedo (i. p. 53).

[2] A *perpero* was equal, at that time, to ten shillings, and the value of money in the twelfth century, as compared with its value in the nineteenth, was in the proportion of 8 to 1. See Leber (*Essai sur la Fortune Privée*, p. 103).

[3] Sismondi (i. p. 288); Lebeau (xv. p. 178); Gul. Apulus (*Poema*, lib. v.).

The citizens had had recourse to fasting and prayer, but in vain: the saint was inexorable; till, one day (it was the 6th of June, 1085), as one of the holy officials was performing some service in the chapel, he became sensible of a sweet odour, and turning round in astonishment, beheld an arm protruding from one of the columns of the porch. The man was speechless with fear; but he was reassured by a voice, which said to him: "I am Saint Mark; go, and announce my return in the city." In obedience to the saint's instructions, the favoured official communicated to the doge and the patriarch, what he had witnessed. The whole capital was soon in a state of ferment and excitement. Every one became anxious to examine with his own eyes the spot, where the hand of Saint Mark had been first seen. And so widely spread was the reputation of the patron-evangelist in those days throughout the neighbouring provinces, that great numbers of devout persons were attracted to Rialto by the joyful intelligence. Among others, the Emperor Henry IV., who was then residing at Treviso, when he was apprised of the circumstance, informed the Venetian deputies, Vitali Michieli and Pietro Zoppolo, who had just obtained from him the renewal of the mercantile charter, that it was shortly his intention to visit the theatre of the late miracle; and, on that occasion, his Majesty was suffered to indulge his pious curiosity (1094). But the imperial visit seems to have been opportune: for we find that, in the October of the same year, the saint was placed under stricter confinement, and that the doge and the primiccrio, to whose care he was now jointly

confided, were the only persons, to whom his precise position was not a secret.[1]

In the year 1094, a grant was obtained from the commune to defray the expense of restoring the ancient town of Loredo, situate between Adria and Cavarzero; and in the compact, which the republic thought fit to make at the time with the municipal authorities, it was stipulated that the legal and commercial franchises, enjoyed by Venetian citizens, should be extended without exception to the Loredese; that they should exercise the privilege of choosing their own *gastaldo*, or chief magistrate; and that they should pay to the Bishop of Castello an annual poll-tax of three fowls, as well as a fee of three *danari* to the collector. The doge also reserved to himself the right of hunting in their forests, and fishing in their streams.[2]

To the same year belongs the institution of a public officer, who was designated the *Magistrato del Proprio*; it became the peculiar function of the magistrato del proprio to examine the legality of wills; to administer the property and effects of persons, who might die intestate; to exercise a general control over the transfer and conveyance of estates, and to protect the interests and rights of the orphan and the widow.

Two years later, the republic was again afflicted by

[1] Sabellico (lib. v. p. 99); Pietro Giustiniani (lib. i. p. 28); Paolo Morosini (lib. iv. p. 96); Pietro Marcello (*Vite de Principi*, p. 30); Sanudo (*Vite de Duchi*, p. 478); Andrea Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 478); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 251).

[2] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 251) quotes the treaty between Venice and her dependency textually: it bears date December, 1094.

the joint ravages of plague and famine; and among the victims of the epidemic was Dodoni himself, to whose want of foresight and providence the *scarcity* was, according to some historians, chiefly to be attributed. They will hardly charge him, we apprehend, with being the author of the pestilence, though it is not unlikely that its virulence might have been increased by the pressure of famine. Faliero was succeeded by Vitali Michieli, who had been the ambassador of the republic at the court of Pavia in 1094 (December, 1096).

The new doge found on his accession, that the pious declamations of Peter of Amiens, called the Hermit, had infused a new spirit into the human kind. The ages, which immediately succeeded the irruption of the Northern barbarians, were ages of darkness, confusion, and ignorance. The mighty torrent of invasion, which had swept away the grandeur of Rome, and effaced the landmarks of kingdoms and empires, created a vast gulf between the past and the future; and when that flood subsided, a colony of Scythians and Tartars had settled on the beautiful and fertile plains of Umbria, Picenum, and Liguria. The fabulous origin of the strangers was forgotten in the lapse of time, and intermarriages with the Italians gradually produced a race of men, who might have regarded their savage ancestors with surprise and contempt. The Goths and the Lombards had quietly yielded to the civilizing influence of a softer and more luxurious climate, and they had long acquired the arts, before they began to copy the vices, of their adopted countrymen. By example and education, moreover, they had been

slowly converted from idol-worship to the Christian religion; and they were thus led to sympathise with the insults, which the Mahometans heaped on the tomb of the Son of God, and the city of Salvation. During the early ages of the church, however, this feeling had only manifested itself in desultory pilgrimages, and pious, but abortive, vows. In the eleventh century, a ripple had swollen into a mighty wave; and the picture of the desecration of the holy places, drawn by interest, superstition, or credulity, had animated Western chivalry with the hope of glory, the love of piety, and the lust of revenge. The knowledge and judgment of the self-constituted champions of the Cross bore a very unequal proportion to their valour and enthusiasm; and their chivalrous ardour predisposed them to regard religion in a point of view widely different, we suspect, from that, in which it was contemplated by the founders of the apostolic faith. It ceased to be the rule or example of life: it became a passion and a pursuit. Men defended it with the sword, and polluted it with bloodshed. To have died beneath the sacred banner soon came to be considered the most glorious, if not the most blessed, consummation of our earthly career; and the slaughter of the misbeliever to be accounted the best title to the kingdom of heaven. Piety was, in this manner, readily kindled into fanaticism, and fanaticism not unfrequently assumed the form of frenzy.

But, while the knights and peasantry of France, Flanders, and Germany, shared or echoed such sentiments, the republic of Venice had begun to perceive the advantage as well as the expediency of joining the ge-

neral movement. The other Crusaders obeyed the new impulse: the republic used it. The principle, which governed the policy, and inspired the zeal of the Venetians; in these undertakings, was precisely the principle, which a trading community might be supposed to keep in view as the root and germ of its prosperity; though, at the same time, it is to be remarked, that the almost inseparable connection of their political and commercial system naturally led them to blend two ideas in one, and to associate with the pursuit of wealth the acquisition of power. The Venetians had long found, that the Mahometan countries formed an excellent market for the produce and manufactures of the West, and it was consequently not so much the fear of the conquest or recovery of Palestine by the infidels, which operated as a motive in their case, as that of the foundation of marts and shops by other mercantile communities on the shores of the Holy Land, and the establishment in that manner of a competition, which could not fail to be extremely injurious to the national welfare. It was the interest and the aim of the republic to anticipate any such contingency. It was not to be expected, however, that she would waste or abuse her resources by levying large armies, and sending them across arid and pestilential regions, or through hostile and barbarous countries where, even should they succeed in forcing a passage, they would almost inevitably fall a prey to hunger and disease. It was not in the nature of things or, indeed, within the bounds of possibility, that Venice should adopt such a course. The part, which she agreed

to bear in these distant enterprises, was that of maritime co-operation with the military powers of Christendom; and for that part she was, perhaps, more peculiarly fitted by her constitution and the peculiar character of her people than any other European state.

Accordingly, we find that, in the early part of the year 1099, Badoer da Spinale and Faliero Storlado[1] were commissioned by the Doge Michieli to superintend the organization of a Dalmatian contingent; while the latter was engaged in forming and equipping the armament which, it had been decided in Arrengo, should be despatched without delay to the succour of Godfrey de Bouillon and his brave companions in arms. This flotilla, which, as it is alleged, numbered two hundred and seven vessels[2] of all characters and dimensions, sailed from the gulf in the autumn of 1099, under the joint command of Giovanni Michieli, the doge's son, and Arrigo Contarini, bishop of Castello:[3] it shaped its course, in the first instance, for Grado, where the bishop received at the hands of the Patriarch Pietro Badoer, the great standard of Saint Mark; and thence it proceeded to Rhodes, where it was the intention of the admiral to wait till spring.

In the meanwhile, however, Alexius Comnena, who had been watching the movements of the republic with growing suspicion, and who might, perhaps, consider that a

[1] Marin (iii. pp. 7, 8, 9); Romanini (ii. p. 14).

[2] Of these, according to Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 963) and G. Diedo (*Storia*, i. p. 54), eighty were galleys.

[3] This was the son of the late Doge Domenigo Contarini. The churchman, however, had merely the spiritual charge of the forces: the command actually devolved on Michieli.

certain deference was due, on her part, to his wishes, had earnestly exhorted her to abstain from taking any active share in the Crusade; and, the Venetians having turned a deaf ear to the appeal, he had had recourse to the natural jealousy and hatred of the merchants of Pisa. His overtures in the latter quarter had been more successful; and fifty galleys which had served under the son of Robert Guiscard in the Holy Land during the preceding summer, readily furled the Norman colours, and hoisted the imperial flag. The mercenaries had speedily discovered that the Venetian fleet was lying at anchor off Rhodes; and they advanced accordingly, with more zeal than discretion, towards the spot, where Michieli had fixed his moorings. The admiral, however, unaware of their hostile design, and imagining, indeed, at first, from the pennant, which the stranger carried, that the nation was Greek, merely sent an envoy, under a flag of truce, to expostulate with the Pisan commander on the attitude, which he assumed. But, the enemy having declined to afford any explanation of his views or his purpose, Michieli hesitated no longer in assuming the offensive; and in a brief, though decisive engagement between the Pisan fleet and a portion of the Venetian line, the mercenaries were defeated with a loss of twenty ships and four thousand prisoners. The former were retained as prizes; but the latter were immediately restored to liberty, with the exception of thirty officers, whom the Venetian commander thought proper to retain as hostages.[1]

[1] Roncioni (*Istorie Pisane*, lib. iv. p. 139); Laugier (iii. p. 14);

Shortly after this strange collision, the whole fleet left its anchorage, and advanced to the islet of Myra, where Bishop Contarini was gratified by finding the body of Saint Nicolas which, it appears, he had promised to secure and convey to Venice. From Myra the fleet proceeded to Smyrna, which was abandoned to pillage as a possession of the Saracens; and, at last, in the month of June, 1100,[1] it entered the bay of Jaffa. Three weeks after the arrival of Michieli and his squadron, Godfrey de Bouillon expired (18 July, 1100); and after participating in the siege of Jaffa, and a few unimportant operations before the town of Caiphas, the Venetian commander decided on returning to Europe in anticipation of the winter. Michieli had probably left the shores of Palestine late in the autumn: he made his entry into the harbour of Castello on the 6th of December, 1100.[2] It happened to be Saint Nicolas's day. An immense crowd had assembled on the quay to welcome the return of the troops, and to hear the news from the East. The doge himself, and a procession of the clergy, were also there to receive with due honour the admiral and his squadron; and when a report was circulated, that Bishop Contarini had brought with him from Myra the body of the saint, to whose memory that day was held especially sacred, the popular joy and enthusiasm knew no bounds. The whole capital soon presented one scene of festivity and

Paolo Morosini (lib. iv. p. 96); Sandi (i. p. 427); Quadri (*Compendio*' p. 106); Verus (lib. i. p. 38); Diedo (i. p. 55); Fougas (decad. i. p. 77).

[1] Michaud (ii. p. 12); Lebeau (xv. p. 360).

[2] Romanini (ii. p. 18); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 258).

triumph: the pious burgesses were filled with wonder at a coincidence, which was, in all probability, nothing more than the result of a preconcerted arrangement; and shortly afterwards the holy relics were deposited with every mark of devotion in the monastery, which had been founded at Lido in 1044 by the Doge Domenigo Contarini.[1] Thus terminated the first expedition of the republic to the Holy Land, an expedition, which certainly partook less of the nature of a military pilgrimage, than that of a predatory cruise.

In the following year (1101) the Venetians, anxious to punish and repress the piratical incursions of the cruisers of Roger Guiscard into their Dalmatian possessions, concluded an offensive and defensive league with Hungary, to whose vengeance the Count of Sicily had earned an equal title by similar operations on her frontier. The conditions of this treaty, which bound King Caloman to afford a protection to the Venetian flag, and to provide a military contingent to the naval expedition against Apulia, now in contemplation by Michieli, were executed, as soon as the vessels, employed in the Syrian campaign, had been refitted and repaired; and while the Hungarian forces invaded the dominions of Guiscard on the side of the land, a fleet, commanded by the doge in person, descended the Adriatic, sacked Brindisi[2] and Monopoli, and diffused terror and dismay along the whole line of coast.[3]

[1] Sansovino (lib. v. p. 230).

[2] Monaca (*Memoria Storiche della Citta di Brindisi*, lib. iii. ch. vii.).

[3] Pietro Giustiniani (lib. i. p. 21); Quadri (*Compendio*, p. 106); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 259); Verus (lib. i. p. 40); Diedo (i. p. 55).

During the same period, the Countess Matilda, who had long been concerting measures without success for the recovery of Ferrara, solicited the aid of Michieli and the republic; and in the spring of 1102, the doge sailed up the Po with a small squadron, and took possession of the city in her name.[1] So important a service was not left unrequited, and the Venetians were placed by Matilda in the enjoyment of many valuable privileges of a commercial character in Ferrara. In the following May (1102) Vitali Michieli closed his days in peace, after a brief, though not inglorious reign of five years and five months; his remains were interred in the vaults of Saint Zacchary; and the berretta was conferred on Ordelafo, the son of the former Doge, Vitali Faliero Dodoni.

In the construction of their larger and their more important buildings, such as the Basilica, the ducal palace, and the cathedral of St. Peter at Castello, the Venetians had always been accustomed to introduce stone and marble which, it is supposed, they procured, at a comparatively cheap rate, from Italy and Dalmatia. But the material, more generally employed till the reign of the second Faliero, was wood, which they also brought from the latter country, as well as from Istria. The important change, which was effected in that respect at the commencement of the twelfth century, is remarkable as being the first decided step toward the improvement of the Venetian capital in an architectural point of view: it is likewise a singular circumstance, that this change should have been immediately

[1] Donizone (*Vita Mathildis Comitissæ*, lib. ii. ch. xiii.); Laugier (ii. p. 17); Sansovino (*Vite*, p. 556).

owing to the most awful and destructive visitation, by which the republic was ever afflicted. Indeed, men, whose memory carried them far back into the past, confessed, that they had never witnessed such a year, as was the year 1106. The heavens were overcast with an angry gloom. The strength of man and beast was alike prostrated by the suffocating heat of the atmosphere. Strange and portentous sounds were heard to issue from the canals; and the fish leapt, as it were in terror, out of the water. The lagoons exhaled sulphureous and inflammatory vapours. It lightened and thundered in January; and it was remarked with superstitious awe, that the flash of the electric fluid was more vivid, and the roll of the thunder more deep, than ordinary.[1] Shocks of earthquake were felt at frequent intervals. The tide of the Adriatic was swollen to an unexampled degree, and the shops and houses of the burgesses were overturned, and in many cases inundated, by the flood. Nor was this all. On the first day of the year, a fire, which might be, perhaps, attributed to the volcanic exhalations from the lagoons, broke out in the dwelling of Arrigo Zeno, in the street of SS. Apostoli,[2] and the flames were not quenched, until they had utterly consumed six churches and the whole mass of contiguous buildings. On the 6th April following, a second conflagration originated in the street of San Lorenzo, the ravages of which extended over both sides of the Grand Canal. It engulfed no fewer than

[1] Romanini (ii. pp. 23-4).

[2] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 260); Fougasses (decad. i. lib. vi. p. 87); Diedo (lib. iii. p. 57); Muratori (vi. p. 351); Sabellico (lib. vi. p. 128).

twenty-four churches, carried havoc and ruin in every direction, and even scorched the walls of the Basilica. Not long afterwards, the island-city of Malamocco was reduced to ashes, and subsequently deluged by the rising of the Adriatic.

These accumulated disasters were obviously to be ascribed, in great part to causes, over which there was no human control: yet it was considered at the same time that, to some extent, they arose from the too general use, in the construction of the capital and its suburbs, of the most combustible of all substances; and as the islands became more densely populated, and localities, once wholly uninhabited, were metamorphosed into busy seenes of life and industry, the necessity of making better provision, than heretofore, for the public security became more manifest. It was also felt to be of urgent importance, that every possible precaution should be taken against a recurrence of the recent calamity. A general resolution was consequently formed to restore the buildings, which had fallen a prey to the flames, in marble or stone, and for the future, to adopt those materials, which were not only far less inflammable than wood, but far more durable and picturesque; and in this manner the memorable fires of 1106, though regarded, at the time, as a heavy and severe misfortune was, like an event of a similar character in the English annals, productive of great ultimate advantage. From that period, in fact, may be dated a new era in the history of Venetian architecture.

In the meanwhile, however, the flames had been ex-

tinguished, and the citizens had begun to repair their losses with that alacrity and cheerfulness of spirit, which the Venetians were accustomed to exhibit under the pressure of adversity. Among other examples of piety and patriotism, it is on record, that Pietro Gradenigo devoted a part of his fortune to the erection of a church at Murano in honour of Saint Cyprian. The Badoeri founded another at Luprio, which they dedicated to the Holy Cross. The see of Malamocco, which had been devastated by fire and water, was transferred, by the order of Faliero in council, to Chiozza;[1] and it was to the same circumstance that the monks of Saint Leon owed their removal to San Servolo, in Rialto. Yet, so strong was the natural affection, which the burgesses of Malamocco bore to the place of their birth, that they determined, a few years later, to defray out of their private resources, the cost of its restoration; and about the year 1110 a new town might be seen gradually rising a short distance to the left of old Malamocco, in a position where it was less likely to suffer from the inroads of the sea. The name of the engineer, who was entrusted with the execution of this great and extensive work has been preserved: it was Domenigo Grattarolo.[2]

When the divorce of Robert Guiscard cast on the offspring of his first marriage the stain of illegitimacy, Bohemond, his son by that union, had striven to conceal his shame and indignation beneath the sacred banners of the

[1] Flaminio Cornaro (*Ecclesiæ Venetæ et Torcellanæ Antiquâ Monumenta*, iii. p. 158); Sansovino (*Vite*, p. 556).

[2] Giacomo Diedo (i. p. 57).

Cross. The dubious success of the first Crusade, however, and the death of Godfrey de Bouillon, which occurred shortly after his arrival in the Holy Land, had disappointed the ambition of the Norman prince, and turned his enthusiasm into a different channel; and in 1105, he returned to Apulia, bringing with him an acute sense of his own wrongs, and a determination to repair the fortunes of his house.

During the campaigns of the two preceding years, victory had crowned the patriotic exertions of the Greeks, and the admirals of Alexius Comnena had crushed the mercenary fleets of Genoa and Pisa,[1] which had borne Norman colours, and been received into Norman pay. But the artful and ingenious representations of the titular Prince of Tyre, whose reverses and misfortunes had not seemingly impaired his powers of intrigue and dissimulation, speedily induced the potentates of Europe to look on him as the martyr-champion of Christendom, while they began to consider Comnena as the close ally of the misbeliever;[2] and Bohemond was even so far successful as to prevail on his hearers to believe, that there was little hope of preserving or delivering Jerusalem, until a new dynasty had been established at Constantinople. Nor was the pope, on his part, ill disposed to regard with favour a design, which might have the effect of restoring the authority of the Holy See over the Greek Church—a vain hope, which revived, with every change in the political horizon, in the breast of the successors of Saint Peter. Guiscard was therefore advised,

[1] Lebeau (xv. pp. 373-5-9). [2] Ibid. (xv. p. 401).

and even urged, to make personal overtures to the French king for a fresh levy of Crusaders; and the Prince of Tyre repaired accordingly, in 1106, to the court of Philip I., for the purpose of entering into negotiations, and of ascertaining, how far his Majesty was willing to support the object, which he now had in contemplation.

It was not strange, however, that the Byzantine court should view the progress and success of the Crusades with a less favourable eye than that of the Vatican: for, while the former had everything to fear from those expeditions, the latter had everything to hope. Even should the Greek heresy have taken too deep root to be easily eradicated, the triumph of the Latin pilgrims over the enemies of Rome and the faith could not fail to extend and increase, to a very large extent, the papal power and influence in the East. On the other hand, Alexius began to perceive, that the Crusades were wholly at variance with the true interests of his empire; he began to feel, that these distant enterprises, conducted by able and ambitious adventurers, threatened the stability of his own throne; and he was therefore naturally anxious to stem and turn the tide of enthusiasm, which might, at no distant period, be diverted into other channels, and ultimately reach the walls of Constantinople.

The fears and suspicions of the emperor were more than realized by the subsequent intrigues of Guiscard at the courts of Rome and Paris; and, so soon as he was credibly informed, that a new Crusade had been published, and that the levies of Bohemond in France and Spain were almost complete, Comnena proceeded without delay

to make the requisite dispositions for meeting the impending danger, wherever it might threaten. At the same time, he sent the republic an invitation to co-operate with the fleets and armies of Greece in repelling the torrent of invasions, which the unctuous hypocrisy of the Prince of of Tyre was about to draw to her shores.

In the meanwhile, Bohemond had crossed the Pyrenees with his new levies; on the 9th October, 1107, he reached Valona, on the coast of Illyria; and, six days later, he encamped under the walls of Durazzo, where he purposed to wait till spring. The winter of that year was spent in incessant, but futile negotiations; and in the early part of 1108, the powerful artillery of engines and projectile batteries, which formed the besieging train of the prince, was drawn up round the city. But the enormous strength of the fortifications, and the ample resources of the garrison, set all the exertions of the Norman engineers at defiance. The latter perceived with bitter disappointment and deep vexation that the balists and mangonels, on which they had counted so largely, were, from the very unwieldiness of their dimensions, unmanagable and useless. Reports reached the Prince, that Alexius had already gained Deabolis, on the borders of Illyria. The Governor of Durazzo was incorruptible. Provisions began to be scarce in the camp, and disease began to spread its ravages among the troops.[1] All these circumstances tended to darken the hopes, and modify the views, of Bohemond; and when Comnena had advanced within a few miles of

[1] Michaud (ii. p. 32); Muratori (vi. pp. 355-6); Wilken (*Gesta Alexii Comnenæ*, p. 398).

the place, his opponent made overtures of a pacific character, and obtained a private interview, in which he expressed his readiness to purchase the duchy of Antioch and an annual pension with an oath of fealty to the empire. Things might have certainly changed, in some slight degree, since his father's death, and the resources, which had been at the disposal of the late Duke of Apulia, were in some cases perhaps beyond his own reach. The Byzantine court, on the contrary, was far more favourably situated in regard to a war, than it had been in 1081. In the place of the feeble Botoniates, the Greeks had now a prince, who was capable of leading them to battle and to victory; and the fiery energy of Comnena had infused a new spirit even into the corrupt and degenerate nation, over which he ruled. Still, to accept alms and a title from that very Power, which his great parent had taught to tremble at the Norman name, was scarcely worthy of the son of Robert Guiscard.

The ambitious designs of the Prince of Tyre had, however, been frustrated, in this manner, almost without a struggle; and even the first languid operations before Durazzo had been purely of a military nature, and consequently such as rendered the aid of the republic unavailing, excepting so far as concerned the supply of necessaries to the besieged. But, nevertheless, to the pressing message, which Comnena had addressed to the doge in the preceding autumn, soliciting the Venetians to afford their collateral aid in the approaching contest, Faliero Dodoni had at once returned a favourable reply; and in the early part of 1108 a fleet was actually pre-

pared for the purpose, and held in readiness to act, at any given moment, with the forces of the emperor.[1] That moment, as we have seen, never arrived.

While the republic of Venice was gradually extending her influence over Italy and the East, and the descendants of the fishermen of Rialto were gradually raising their commune to the dignity of an European state, the power and glory of the Parent-city had, in like measure, declined; and a mean, irascible envy, taking the place of departed greatness, prompted the Paduans to view with a sore and jaundiced eye the growing prosperity of the sons of their lords. It is a strange circumstance, however, that the relations of amity, which the republic had established with her jealous neighbour in 550, were not interrupted till the ninth year of the reign of Ordelafo Faliero, an interval of five centuries and a half. In the month of September, 1110, a difference arose between the two States respecting the boundary line of Padua; at the secret instigation of Ravenna and Treviso, who promised to lend their active support in case of necessity, the Paduans determined to enforce their demands, the precise nature of which is, however, not now to be ascertained; and, as if bent on working their own ruin, the confederates proceeded so far as to make an unprovoked inroad into the suburbs of Rialto in the direction of Saint Hilary. It was in vain that Faliero, from a reluctance to engage in hostilities, which the Venetians might justly consider unworthy of their arms, sent a message of remonstrance and admonition; the message of the doge was treated, it

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 261); Marin (iii. p. 26).

appears, with haughty and insolent disdain; and, the republic having thereupon decided on resorting to more coercive measures, a naval engagement took place on the Brenta, near Bebe, on the 4th of October, in which the allied forces were defeated with the loss of five hundred and seven prisoners, and Orlando Crasso, their commander.[1]

The intelligence of this disaster produced at Padua the most unequivocal symptoms of terror and dismay. It was apprehended, that the conquerors would scarcely neglect so favourable an opportunity of incorporating the city with the republic; no disposition was exhibited either by Ravenna or Treviso to render the least assistance in the hour of distress. Under these circumstances, partly assumed, partly real, it appeared to the Senate of Padua that the only course, which remained open to them, was an appeal to the emperor for his intercession and aid; that appeal was favourably received; his Majesty consented to act as mediator between the two communes; and both were accordingly required to send their deputies to Verona, in order to adjust the pending differences in the august presence of Henry V. The latter opened the interview by exhorting the disputants not to forget that, if the republic was bound by the ties of natural affection to Padua, the same bond of connection should lead Padua to gaze with pride and without envy on the glory and greatness of her offspring. But

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 263); Paolo Morosini (lib. iv. p. 101); Pietro Giustiniani (lib. i. p. 21); Laugier (i. p. 19); Muratori (vi. pp. 369-70); Pietro Marcello (*Vite de Principi di Venezia*, p. 32); Giacomo Diedo (lib. iii. p. 57).

Padua could not forget that it was Venice, which encroached on her lagoons and her rivers,[1] that it was Venice which paralysed her trade, and reduced her independence to a cipher; and it was with an ill grace that she yielded to the decision of her self-chosen arbitrator in favour of the just demands of the republic. On the one hand, the Venetian deputies, Vitali Faliero, the doge's cousin, Stefano Morosini, Chaplain of Saint Mark, and Orso Giustiniani, agreed, on behalf of Ordelafo and the commune, to liberate Crasso and the other prisoners taken in the battle of Bebe: on the other, they required, and Henry awarded, compensation for the damages inflicted on the people of Rialto during the recent aggression. The new treaty, which was simultaneously concluded (20 May, 1111)[2] between Venice and the emperor, acknowledged the right of sovereignty over certain parts of Istria, Dalmatia, and Croatia; renewed and augmented the trading privileges, which Henry IV. had accorded in 1094 to the father of the present doge, and defined with greater clearness and precision the boundary-line of Padua. But, his Majesty having decidedly refused to dispense with the annual robe of cloth of gold, which his predecessor Otho III. had, in 998, consented to waive at the solicitation of the Doge Orseolo, the deputies of Ordelafo Faliero were obliged to pledge themselves, that the ancient custom should be revived, and that the tribute should be punctually remitted in that, and on the 1st of March in each succeeding, year.[2]

[1] Zendrini (*Laguna di Venezia*, i. p. 17); Girolamo Libri (*Sciences Mathematiques en Italie*, ii. p. 231); Sandi (ii. p. 432); Verus (lib. i. p. 42).

[2] Romanini (ix. p. 27).

In the year 1110, the Mahometan dominion in the Holy Land had shrunk within the narrow limits of Ascalon, Tyre, and Sidon;[1] the Cross again floated over the principal cities of Palestine; and Baldwin I., the successor of Godfrey de Bouillon, was now anxious to complete the conquest by annexing these important harbours to the new kingdom of Jerusalem. But he speedily discovered, that it was impossible to gain that object without involving the collateral aid of some naval Power.

It was at this conjuncture, that the republic, encouraged by the fading glory of the Crescent, as well as inspired by the pious eloquence of the Doge Faliero, resolved to hasten once more to the succour of the pilgrims; and toward the close of the year 1111, a fleet of one hundred galleys, exclusively of transports, set sail for the East, under the command of Dodoni himself and his admiral, Andrea Morosini. The Venetian squadron, however, did not reach the Holy Land, until the Crusaders, in concert with Prince Sigur of Norway, had overcome the obstinate resistance of the Mussulmen of Sidon, and it was consequently present only at the capitulation. Yet so much importance was attached by Baldwin to the maritime co-operation of the republic with his own troops, that he readily purchased a promise of her future services with the cession of a part of the town of Saint Jean d'Acre, and the right of having a local magistrate, a church, a street, a mill, a bath, and the use of her own weights and measures, in all the Eastern possessions of Christen-

[1] William of Tyre (lib. xi. ch. xiv.); Michaud (ii. p. 36).

dom.[1] These were important and valuable privileges to a trading community; had they merited the name of monopolies, they might have been accounted infinitely more precious. But the same stern necessity, which accorded immunities of such a liberal character to Venice, extended them to Pisa and Genoa, and the republic was almost counselled by jealousy to measure her gratitude by the favours, which Baldwin conferred on her rivals, rather than by those, which he granted to herself.

A century had now elapsed, since the great Orseolo achieved the conquest of Dalmatia; and, during the interval, the kings of Hungary, gradually emerging from barbarianism and obscurity, had frequently endeavoured, with a view of annexing to their crown a large and fertile province, to corrupt the fidelity of a people, whom they professed an anxiety to liberate from the yoke of *a petty community of fishermen*.[2] The Dalmatians, on their part, had greatly favoured these ambitious designs by the vacillating policy, which they had of late begun to adopt in the hope of ultimately forming themselves, like Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Amalfi, into free and independent states; and the revolt of Zara in 1050, at the instigation of Solomon, King of Hungary, had already led the republic to fear that, at no distant period, she would be obliged to dispute with her powerful neighbour the possession of her transmarine colonies. Yet, although it was nearly sixty years since Zara was recovered by the

[1] Michaud (iii. p. 209); Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. xi.).

[2] Johannes Lucius (*De Regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ*, lib. iii. p. 113); Bonfinius (*Res Ungaricæ*, decad. ii. lib. v. p. 245).

Doge Contarini, this apprehension still remained unrealized; and one of Solomon's immediate successors, Caloman, even established relations of amity and peace with the Venetians, whom he consented, in 1102, to join in an expedition against their common enemy, the Count of Sicily. At length, however, in 1114, King Caloman died;[1] his son Stephen succeeded him; and, in the second year of his reign, that prince, deviating from his father's footsteps, openly invaded Dalmatia, where he experienced little difficulty in reducing by force, or intimidating by menaces, the garrisons of Zara, Spalatro, and Sebenigo.

The intelligence of this defection reached Venice in the usual course; there was every reason to apprehend that, unless a remedy was speedily applied, the contagion would spread to the whole Venetian dominion in Dalmatia; and Faliero, anxious to obviate the threatened danger, hastened in August, 1115, with a powerful squadron to the aid or subjection of his continental subjects.[2] The defeat of an Hungarian force, which had been sent forward to oppose his advance, and the recovery of the various places, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, with the single exception of the citadel of Zara, which an Hungarian garrison held against all the efforts of his troops, involved neither difficulty nor loss: nor was the doge inclined, in taking precaution against a recurrence of the evil, to proceed beyond the exaction of a few hostages from each colony, and the renewal of the

[1] Lebeau (xvi. p. 14); Wilken (*Gesta Alexii Comnenæ*, lib. iv. c. ii.).
[2] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 266).

oath of fealty. In the following spring, however, Faliero contemplated a return to Dalmatia, and the final reduction of Zara (October—November, 1115).

During the interval, the Emperor Henry V., allured by the sanctity and splendour of the shrine of the patron-Evangelist, paid a visit of devotion to Venice (March, 1116),[1] and the doge, who had previously obtained, through his primate, Giovanni Gradenigo, a promise of assistance against Hungary from the Byzantine court, was induced by his success in that quarter to communicate to Henry the cause and plan of the approaching campaign.[2] His Majesty lent an attentive and favourable ear;[3] he professed a strong and lively interest in the welfare of the republic; and, before he took his departure, he even declared a willingness to bear an active part in the undertaking. Faliero, however, reopened the siege of Zara in the May of that year[4] without receiving any support from his allies: he had, in all probability, counted on their insincerity. A month after his arrival (June 30), an Hungarian force advanced to raise the blockade, and its approach afforded equal relief to the doge and the Zaretines, the former of whom was burning with impatience, and the latter were exhausted by want and fatigue. Dodoni, on his part, hastened to oppose the progress of the enemy. His exertions were attended by complete success; the Hungarians were completely routed; and Zara, yielding, at last, to the pressure of famine, was forced to

[1] Macedo (*Pictura Venetiæ*, p. 120).
[2] Wilken (*Gesta Alexii Comnenæ*, lib. iv. ch. ii.).
[3] Marin (iii. p. 37); Sandi (ii. p. 436); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 485).
[4] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 266).

capitulate. Shortly afterwards, the walls and bulwarks of Sebenigo, which refused to admit the conqueror, were levelled with the ground; at Trau and Spalatro, the people anticipated his approach by expelling their Hungarian governor, and returning to their allegiance; and the doge, having exacted fresh hostages, returned a second time to Venice in the month of July, 1116, with an ample booty and a numerous train of prisoners.

This new victory reflected equal credit on the moderation of the doge, and on the gallant conduct of the troops under his command; but it was so far from bringing the campaign to a close, that it had the unfortunate effect of converting a jealous rival into an implacable enemy. No sooner was the king apprised of the unexpected issue of the late contest, and that the flower of his nobility was exposed to the curious gaze of the Venetian burgesses, by whom the Hungarian standards taken in the battle were regarded as the proudest monuments of their triumph, than he despatched a third army into Dalmatia under one of his lieutenants. That army was allowed to advance without opposition within a few miles of Zara, at which point the Venetian forces, commanded, as before, by the illustrious Dodoni in person, were holding themselves in readiness to bar its farther passage. The struggle, which ensued, was protracted and sanguinary; each foot of ground was hotly disputed; the tide of fortune fluctuated terribly; and the doge, forgetful of his station, plunged with the ardour of a paladin into the heart of the fight. His culpable temerity was productive of the most deplora-

ble results. As he was leading a final charge, the breast of Faliero was pierced by a well-directed shaft. He fell mortally wounded. His fall produced a panic among his followers; and the ruin of the army was involved in the death of the general. Wholly disconcerted at the death of their noble leader, the Venetians abandoned the contest, and fled in precipitate confusion; the enemy engaged in the pursuit with eager and relentless diligence; and so frightful was the carnage, that few succeeded in regaining their vessels, and in conveying the disastrous intelligence to Rialto.

The circumstances, which had attended the rout at Zara were exactly of such a character, as to increase the apparent magnitude of the peril. The republic took alarm. The necessity was generally acknowledged of adopting measures of a conciliatory nature toward the conqueror; and the same embassy, which had negotiated with the Emperor Henry V. in 1111,[1] was at once despatched to procure from Stephen a permanent, or even a temporary, suspension of hostilities. A matter, wherein their commune was anxious to adopt a language and tone consistent with her safety, and not offensive to her pride, required, on the part of the deputies, the exercise of considerable tact and address; but the crafty eloquence of the orator Giustiniani who, instead of appealing to the doubtful lenity of the king, urged the expediency of terminating an unseemly difference between two Christian

1 Vitali Faliero, the late doge's cousin, Stefano Morosini, and Orso Giustiniani. See Marin (iii. p. 31).

Powers, fellow-labourers in the same holy cause, won for a pious associate, what might have been denied to a fallen enemy.[1] A truce of five years was, in fact, concluded between Venice and Hungary; the former was allowed to retain or resume possession of her colonies; and the body of Dodoni, which had been secured by some Hungarian soldiers during the engagement, having been restored, at the solicitation of the deputies, to the republic, was consigned with mournful solemnity to the vaults of the ducal chapel[2] (1117).

Such was the sad, yet not inglorious end, of the second Faliero. In addition to his other public services, which were certainly of no ordinary character, the late doge left to posterity two splendid and lasting monuments of his administration. In 1106, the year of the memorable fire, the celebrated *Pala d'Oro*, or carved slab of gold, which had been placed by the first Pietro Orseolo on the great altar in Saint Mark's, was enlarged at the cost of Faliero, and inlaid with gems of the choicest water; and it was during his reign, that the marshy ground in the eastern part of the city, adjoining the islets of Gemelle or Zimole, was converted into public docks for the reception of shipping. Those docks formed the nucleus of the famous Arsenal, which was long unsurpassed in Europe for beauty and excellence in its kind.

Ordelafo Faliero was succeeded by Domenigo Michieli. In the following year, Baldwin de Bourg, Count of

[1] Bonfinius (*Res Ungaricæ*, lib. v. p. 247).

[2] Tentori (iii. p. 326); Paolo Morosini (lib. iv. p. 103); Pietro Giustiniani (lib. ii. p. 23); Sandi (iii. p. 437); Dicdo (lib. iv. p. 60); Verus (lib. i. p. 45).

Edessa, became the sovereign of a small kingdom and the inheritor of a crown of thorns. The tide of fortune had again turned; the Mahomedan power was once more in the ascendant; and the Christians, whose ranks had been thinned by famine, slaughter, and disease, feebly though gallantly withstood the attacks of the formidable Yglasi, Emir of Damascus.[1] A handful of men were powerless before a host; the infidels pursued their conquests with vigour and success; and the banners of the Cross, beneath which so many brave warriors had fought and bled, disappeared in rapid succession from the ports of the ocean and the cities of the plain. This posture of affairs, while it shed a gloom over the most sanguine and mercurial enthusiasm, led the Christian Commonwealth to appreciate to the fullest extent the value of Venetian co-operation; and in 1121 the republic was conjured by the courts of Rome and Jerusalem to take part in a new Crusade. The pontifical letter, which was addressed to the doge on this occasion, and in which the extreme necessity was urged of rendering prompt aid to the pilgrims, was read by him in open Arrengo; and the manly eloquence of Michieli gave colour to the picture, and weight to the testimony, of Calixtus. He represented to his hearers, in the language of piety and patriotism, the narrow limits, within which the successes of the misbelievers had of late years reduced the Christian kingdoms of Jerusalem, the low ebb, to which the fortunes and resources of the soldiers of the Cross had consequently sunk, and the despondency, to which such a state of things was gra-

[1] Michaud (iii. pp. 47, 48); Lebeau (xvi. p. 8).

dually giving rise in every quarter. He recalled to their memory the former exploits of the Venetians in those distant countries, the fall of Jaffa and the siege of Caiphas; and he shewed them how much it concerned the honour and advantage of the commune to respond favourably to the present call of Christendom. "Venetians," concluded the doge, "what splendid renown will our country acquire by participating in this holy enterprise? You will be the admiration of Europe and Africa. The standard of Saint Mark will float triumphantly over the cities of Palestine; and by the extirpation of the infidel we shall extend throughout the East the power and glory of the Venetian name!"[1]

These words produced a deep impression on the national assembly. Yet it was not to be concealed that, in some respects, the proposed expedition was wholly at variance with the present interests of the republic. Thinking men bore in mind that the five years' truce, which was concluded with the King of Hungary in the summer of 1117, had almost expired. They perceived with anxiety, that the Venetian dependencies on the opposite coast were in a more than ordinarily discontented and unsettled state; and it was to be seriously apprehended that, while the flower of their navy was engaged in a distant and arduous enterprise, Dalmatia might revolt, and Stephen might even attempt a descent on the lagoon. Setting aside these politic considerations, however, the people ultimately determined to lend the re-

[1] Romanini (ii. p. 36); Daru (i. pp. 159—62).

quired support to the cause of Rome and the Faith: nor is it improbable, that some precaution was taken against contingencies by the formation of a naval reserve. The whole of that year and a portion of 1122 were devoted to the equipment and organization of the new armament, the principal command of which was to be entrusted to the doge himself; and it was arranged that, during his absence, the management of public affairs should jointly devolve on his son Luchino and another Michieli, the member of a different branch of the same family. The 8th of August was fixed as the day of departure.[1]

On its outward passage, the Venetian fleet, which consisted of forty galleys, eight-and-twenty palanders and transports, four large caraks, and other lighter craft, cast anchor off Bari, on the coast of Apulia, where the doge relieved the alarm of the inhabitants by an assurance of friendship and protection, and where it is said that the reports first reached him of an interdict, recently issued by the son and successor of Alexius Comnena against the commercial dealings of the republic with the empire of the East. From Bari, Michieli proceeded to Corfu, where he had an intention of spending a portion of the winter; and in the early part of 1123, the fleet, having quitted its moorings, set sail for Cyprus, at which point the Venetian commander expected to procure exact information respecting the position and movements of the Egyptian armament.[2]

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 270).

[2] Which was affording maritime co-operation to the forces of the Emir of Damascus.

In the mean time, while the second Baldwin, who had fallen, after a short and inglorious career, into the hands of his enemies, was languishing in the dungeons of Charan, the pilgrims, commanded provisionally by Eustace, Count of Sidon, were cooped up within the walls of the Holy City, where they were propitiating Heaven with fasting and prayer. Presently, however, the tocsin was heard to sound; the gates of Jerusalem opened; and three thousand men, headed by the patriarch, who bore aloft a portion of the true cross, issued forth into the plain of Ascalon to meet and oppose the forces of Balac, the successor of the Emir Yglasi. The fewness of their numbers was, to some extent, supplied by the fulness of their faith; their slow and measured pace, their solemn and imposing bearing, their seeming reliance on a higher Power, produced in the breasts of the Mussulmen an involuntary sensation of wonder and awe; and as the pilgrims advanced, half in order of battle, half in attitude of prayer, the enemy stood motionless and passive spectators of the scene. Suddenly a flash of the electric fluid, more than ordinarily vivid, lighted up the heavens; the misbelieving host were struck, as it were, by a panic terror; and with mingled feelings of satisfaction and astonishment the Christians beheld them retreat in precipitate confusion on Ascalon. Still, the Crusaders were aware that the advantage, which they had thus gained, was purely of a temporary character; and there was too much reason to fear that, so soon as the followers of Balac recovered their composure, they would not fail to construe a natural phenomenon into a feint or an artifice of the

Giaour. It was at this momentous crisis, that the Venetian fleet anchored off Cyprus.[1]

On being interrogated by Michieli, the Cypriots stated, that the lieutenant of the Sultan of Egypt was at present proceeding with his squadron, amounting, it was said, to upwards of a hundred sail, in the direction of Jaffa, of which they conjectured, that he intended to form the siege; and his Serenity had nearly resolved to act on this information, when other and more recent intelligence arrived, that the Egyptian commander, altering his course, was now on his way to Ascalon,[2] where Balac more urgently required and solicited his support. The doge determined to draw him from his design; and, in order to make his final dispositions for the battle, which was evidently at hand, he called a council of war. In that council he expressed his decided opinion in favour of a division of the armament into two parts, one of which, comprising the flower and real strength of the fleet, should retire on Jaffa, and lie under the coast in a position, where it might be concealed from immediate observation; while the other, merely consisting of transports and vessels of burthen, put out to sea, as though engaged in conveying pilgrims from Cyprus. The leading object of this manœuvre was to create a diversion from Ascalon. It succeeded admirably. The enemy no sooner descried the

[1] Michaud (iii. pp. 51, 52). Besides the usual authorities, I have consulted Marino Sanudo the Elder (*Secreta Fidelium Crucis*); Bernard (*De Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ*, ch. 117-18-19); Sicard, Bishop of Cremona (*Chronicon, ad Annos*, 1122-3-4).

[2] Guizot (*Coll. des Memoires rel. à l'Hist. de France*: Guillaume de Tyr, *Hist. des Croisades*, lib. xii. p. 234).

fictitious convoys in the misty twilight of a January morning, than they were naturally led by the hope of plunder and the prospect of an easy prey to enter into the pursuit; the transports, affecting to be panic-stricken, fell back, as it had been arranged, on the main squadron, to which, by an adroit method of retreat, they served to form an excellent cover; and the moment of junction appears to have been the preconcerted signal for the general movement. As the two armaments approached each other, the day broke; a tint of golden purple overspread the eastern sky; and the sea beneath, unless where a gentle breeze slightly ruffled its glimmering surface, was calm and glassy. At the same time, the gradual dispersion of the false front discovered the Venetian fleet drawn up in order of battle; and before the Mussulmen had leisure to make the necessary dispositions, the action had well-nigh commenced. The flagship of Michieli, an exceedingly swift and strong vessel, which moved somewhat in advance of the rest, opened the attack by bearing down on that of the Egyptian commander, and striking it with such tremendous violence, that the latter, unable to withstand the shock, foundered with the admiral and the whole crew. This bold and successful manœuvre decided the fortune of the day. The enemy, completely disconcerted by the loss of their leader, were thrown into utter confusion; the Venetians redoubled their efforts; the Egyptian galleys were surrounded and boarded on all sides; and, though dearly won with the blood of his followers, the victory was soon secure in the hands of the doge. But, alas! the

glory of Michieli was sullied by the massacre of a large proportion of the enemy's crews, and the execution[1] of the principal officers. Indeed, the carnage is said to have been so great that, for a wide space round, the sea was dyed to a deep scarlet hue by the gore of the slaughtered Saracens, whose corpses might be seen floating in every direction; and we are told that, long afterwards, mariners, pointing to the scene of the battle of Jaffa, spoke of the waters thereabout as still putrid, and as likely to communicate a deadly infection to any vessels, which might pass over the spot. Yet Michieli was not altogether satisfied with his success. Reports reached him that ten Turkish galleons, laden with silks, spices, and other rich and precious merchandise, were lying at anchor off the coast of Egypt, counting apparently on his defeat at Jaffa. The triumph of the Venetian arms removed their only chance of safety, and destroyed their only means of escape; and the doge experienced little difficulty in securing these valuable prizes.

Meanwhile, however, his prolonged absence had begun to exhaust the patience of his expectant confederates, whose position, though ameliorated, for a time, by their recent success on the plain of Ascalon, was again becoming daily more critical; and the Venetian commander was still lingering on the scene of his last exploit, when he received a message, gently reminding him of his sacred

[1] Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 968) relates with cold-blooded candour, how the doge caused the commanders of the Egyptian galleys to be beheaded, "perche erano Paesani." See also Michaud (*Bibliothèque des Croisades*, ii. p. 630).

mission, and urging him to use all haste in repairing to the Holy City. A solemn deputation awaited the arrival of Michieli in the port of Jaffa; and thence he was conducted in triumph to Jerusalem, where he was welcomed with thanks and congratulations by the assembled chiefs of the Crusade. The rout of the misbelievers at Jaffa had been an ample source of wonder and rejoicing, and one victory had almost sufficed to obliterate the memory of many disasters. Yet the allies were sensible, that their present situation scarcely admitted hesitation or repose; the severe check, which his lieutenant had lately received at the hands of the Venetians, would, there was reason to fear, merely stimulate the Sultan of Egypt to fresh exertions; and a report was current, that the Emir of Damascus might be expected to reach Jerusalem at no distant period, with a powerful and well-organised army. The doge, therefore, whose position and personal character gave weight to his arguments, strongly and successfully urged the necessity of having recourse to measures of a prompt and vigorous character; and when he perceived that his companions were wasting time in deliberating, whether they should open operations with the siege of Tyre or that of Ascalon, Michieli suggested an appeal to the law of chance. The names of the two places were inscribed accordingly on two thin slips of parchment, and laid on the altar of the church of St. Sepulchre; and amid the breathless suspense of the spectators, a young orphan advanced, and selected one of the slips. The action relieved the embarrassment of the pilgrims, and sealed the

fate of Tyre.[1] It was at once decided that the Barons should invest the city by land, while the Venetians afforded, as usual, maritime co-operation. But the habitual caution and circumspect policy of the latter had gradually introduced a system, which consisted in sharing, before they reaped, the fruits of victory; and prior to his departure from the Holy City, the doge concluded with his obsequious confederates a treaty of partition and commerce.

By this treaty, which has been preserved,[2] one third of Tyre was assigned as a quarter to the Venetians: the other two thirds remained to the king. In their quarter, the islanders were to be under the control of their own *Bailo*, or consul, and to be totally independent of Baldwin and his successors. All, who chose to reside among them, were to be considered amenable to the laws of Venice; but should any citizen of the republic assault, injure, or maim, a subject of Baldwin, it was competent for a royal judge to investigate and decide the question. The effects of all Venetians, who might die intestate, or in shipwreck, were to be restored to their heirs, or to be consigned to the care of their resident consul. Lastly, an annual sum of three hundred byzants of gold[3] was to be paid out of the treasury of Tyre to the ducal fisc; in

[1] Michaud (iii. p. 53). These facts are cursorily mentioned by Saint Marc (*Abr.* iii. p. 1102); Diedo (i. p. 60); *L'Art de Verifier les Dates* (lib. xvii. p. 450).

[2] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 275).

[3] Depping (*Commerce du Levant*, i. p. 151); Quadri (*Compendio*, p. 99); Daru (i. p. 164); Fougasses (dec. i. p. 92).

consideration of which payment the republic should contribute to the maintenance of the garrison. It was stipulated, moreover, that should Baldwin refuse, on his return from Charan, to affix his signature to these terms, he forfeited thereby his title to the crown of Jerusalem, and there was also a mutual understanding, that the eventual participation of the republic in the reduction of Ascalon, involved the cession of similar rights and privileges in that town.[1] Having formed this sound and satisfactory basis of future operations, Michieli returned to Jaffa, whence he immediately proceeded with his squadron to its new destination (January, 1123).

The glory of Tyre, of that Tyre, which was the founder of Carthage, and the birthplace of Abdimus and Ulpian, had now departed from her, and her power was long since fallen. Yet she was still the same city which, for seven months, had checked in his victorious career the great son of Philip of Macedon. She was, it is true, no longer mistress of the seas. She had ceased also to be numbered among the nations. Yet her huge bulwarks and lofty battlements rose amid the waves as proudly as on the day, when she bade defiance to the most successful of ancient conquerors; and, though the resources of her present defenders were far more scanty, the strength of her fortifications was unimpaired. Moreover, her garrison, of which seven hundred knights of Damascus formed the flower, was plentifully victualled, and supplied with an ample store of munitions of every kind;

[1] Verus (lib. iv. pp. 44, 45); Sanudo the Elder (*Secreta*, ch. xi. p. 159); William of Tyre (lib. xii. xiii.); Romanini (xi. p. 42); Sismondi (i. p. 362).

and the courage and energy of the Tyrians were powerfully sustained by an assurance that, before their provisions and means of subsistence were exhausted, they would be relieved by the arrival of the Emir of Damascus with the grand army. It was scarcely conceivable, however, that so strong a place could ever be taken; and even those, who had seen Biblos, Tripoli, Sidon, Cesarea, and Saint Jean d'Acre, fall again in succession into the hands of the pilgrims, cherished a confidence that, if the Mahomedan cause were ruined elsewhere, the crescent would still continue to float over the walls of Tyre.[1]

On the side of the sea, this famous and ancient city was protected by a double line of ramparts, as well as by the breakers and rocky escarpments, which had at all times rendered that coast peculiarly dangerous to any but the most experienced pilots. On the east side, which afforded the sole approach from the land, a triple girdle of walls was divided, at close and regular distances, by towers of stupendous size and altitude, and enfossed by a deep and broad moat, into which the waters of the ocean were readibly admissible by sluices. In the northern quarter of the city, and in a situation, where it was overlooked and sheltered by the fortifications, lay the *Inner Harbour*, in which the greater part of the Tyrian shipping found convenient and ample accommodation. This capacious basin was now occupied by the Venetian fleet, while the troops of the Regent Eustace, by taking up a strong position on the east side, cut off all communication with

[1] Guizot (*William of Tyre*, lib. xiii. p. 260).

the land, and established a complete blockade. The confederates lost no time in making the necessary dispositions for the approaching struggle; the siege train was prepared for action; the mangonels and other projectile machines were placed in order; stations were assigned to the various divisions of the army and the fleet; and, these preliminary arrangements having been concluded, the assault was opened from the north and east sides, on the morning of the 16th of February (1123).[1]

On both sides, the preparations had been of a character, which indicated a resolution to neglect no means of ensuring a favourable result; the siege-works had been constructed on a scale, commensurate with the magnitude of the design; and the moveable towers, erected by the Latin engineers in juxtaposition, enabled the besiegers to fight on an equal footing with the defenders of the ramparts. It may be readily imagined, that the first onset was fearful to behold. It was, indeed, the opening scene of a struggle between men of a different origin, of a different language, and of a different religion. The battle long raged fiercely. The soldiers of the garrison, who distinguished themselves by their martial and gallant bearing, and who gloried in the name of enemies of the Christian Faith, vied with their foes in feats of daring and hardihood. The Knights of Damascus were foremost in the fray; and their chivalric example served to stimulate the most timid and effeminate to join in upholding the cause of Mahomet, the prophet of the Lord. At the same

[1] William of Tyre (lib. xiii. p. 240); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 271).

time, the projectile machines were plied on both sides with untiring energy and terrible effect. Volleys of missiles of every description poured without intermission over the ramparts and against the towers. The air was obscured by a tempest of arrows, darts, stones, and combustible matter. And the monotonous character of the spectacle was only occasionally varied, as some huge fragment of rock, discharged from one of the siege-batteries, clave with tremendous rapidity the intermediate space, and, not without inflicting serious damage, was shivered to atoms by coming into collision with the fortifications. Or else, perhaps, as was by no means of unfrequent occurrence, the ponderous missile, overreaching its aim,[1] alighted with a fearful crash on the roof of some building within the precincts of the walls. The allies, too, were often obliged, on their part, by the galling and ceaseless fire of the Tyrian batteries, which were under the superintendence of a celebrated engineer of Antioch, an Armenian by birth, to beat a general retreat, and to suspend hostilities for several hours, while they took shelter, and regained strength, behind their intrenchments; and, during the first three months of operations, it not unfrequently happened that, after a momentary and deceptive calm, which had almost led the Christians to believe that the stubborn and protracted resistance of the enemy was at last overcome, the latter reopened the attack with greater fury and determination than before. In the course of the period, however, to which we have referred, the fortune of war had been changeful and dubious; and the

[1] William of Tyre (lib. xiii. p. 263).

belligerents were so equally matched, that it was difficult, indeed, to see how either party could, in the present posture of affairs, carry any permanent or considerable advantage over the other. Still, at first, victory inclined rather to the Tyrians, whose commanding position and more efficient artillery amply compensated for any deficiency in point of numerical strength; and this favourable appearance was not a little improved by the circulation of an ill-founded report that, while the Emir of Damascus was hastening to the relief of the city with a powerful army, a second fleet had already left the shores of Egypt with instructions to intercept and annihilate the squadron of the Doge of Venice. But the tide of success was speedily turned into a different channel by the arrival of Pontius, Count of Tripoli,[1] with a large reinforcement, and the subsequent announcement of the total defeat of the Emir Balac by Jocelyn, Count of Edessa, in the vicinity of that town.[2] The exposure of the mangled and ghastly head of Balac to the gaze of the Tyrians, confirmed in their eyes the latter intelligence, and spread among a population, worn out by a lengthened blockade, and at last beginning to be sensible of the pressure of want, a general feeling of consternation and despair. Even the Damascene knights, who had hitherto exhibited such exemplary bravery and resolution, began to show signs of discontent and despondency, and all those, who had regarded the emir's promise of succour as a certain resource in the

[1] I analyse William of Tyre (lib. xiii.) whose narrative, though extremely valuable as an authority, is extremely prolix and somewhat discursive.

[2] Michaud (*Hist. des Croisades*, lib. v. p. 55).

hour of distress, no longer hesitated now to admit the hopelessness of their cause. These circumstances combined to produce in the minds of the besieged a strong tendency to submission, and a decided resolution to adopt a course, from which they had been, in large measure, deterred heretofore by the prevalent and superstitious impression, that no mercy was to be expected from the truculent and bloodthirsty foes, with whom they had to deal. Their pacific overtures, however, were at once favourably received; and, the confederates having readily acceded to a declaration that, on the cession of the place, the inhabitants would be suffered to remain or depart unharmed, the Tyrian authorities agreed to sign the articles of a capitulation. That capitulation took effect on the 29th of June (1123),[1] four months and a half after the commencement of operations. The royal standard of Jerusalem was immediately hoisted over the principal gate of the city; the banner of the Count of Tripoli waved from the tower of Tanaira; and on the Green Tower was planted the Lion of Saint Mark.[2]

In connection with the siege of Tyre by the Latins, a fact is related by some historians, which, were its authenticity less open to doubt, might be regarded as a curious episode in the history of that event. These writers affirm that, during the recent operations, the monotony of a pro-

[1] William of Tyre (lib. xiii. p. 278); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 271), who is also a very respectable authority, gives a day later—the 30th of June.

[2] William of Tyre (lib. xiii. p. 276); Michaud (lib. v. p. 55); Verus (lib. i. p. 48); Romanini (ii. p. 47); Michaud (*Bibl. des Croisades*, ii. p. 632); Bernard (*De Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ*, ch. 120).

tracted siege had the gradual effect of exhausting the patience of the soldiery, who gratified their spleen by expressing a secret distrust of the good faith of the Venetians; the easy and contented air of the latter, who were more plentifully supplied with provisions than their associates, and less disposed to attack, might serve to irritate the feeling of impatience, while it gave colour and strength to the suspicion of treachery; and it soon became a common saying in the camp that, when the enemy appeared, the islanders contemplated the desertion of the pilgrims, and a return to their ships. This unfounded and scandalous insinuation reached in due course, it seems, the ears of Michieli; the doge, who was, at first, inclined to be incredulous, shrewdly surmised, that it originated from a higher source than the ranks of the army; and he determined not to tolerate any longer such injurious reflections on himself and his countrymen. Accordingly one day, he gave an order to dismantle the vessels of the fleet; and, so soon as the order had been executed, he repaired with a party of marines, armed with their oars and hatchets, and laden with a portion of the rigging, to the camp of the other chiefs of the expedition. To their look of surprise at the unexpected visit and the strange demeanour of the visitors, the Venetian prince replied by disclosing the nature of the information, which had reached him, concerning the fleet, and by shewing the mode, which he had adopted, of proving the falsity and injustice of the charge. "Those," concluded the indignant Michieli, pointing with energy, as he spoke, to his stern retinue and their strange burden, "those, who share the glory of the enter-

prise, are prepared to share also the perils of it, and the Venetians will no longer, at least, submit to the odious imputation of indifference or perfidy." The language and deportment of the speaker produced in the minds of his hearers a feeling of astonishment, not unmingled with awe. They endeavoured to calm his emotion. They earnestly disclaimed any sentiment of ill will or distrust toward the Venetians. At the same time, while they unanimously agreed to resume the attack which, it appears, had been suspended by reason of the disagreement, the Barons conjured and persuaded their illustrious ally to return to his position, and to act with them, for the future, in harmonious concert.

That the above account is a fabrication, we are not exactly prepared to assert: nor is it quite easy to conceive, what object could be attained by a suppression of this part of the narrative, had it been genuine. The truth is, however, that the best writers make no mention whatever of the occurrence. Dandolo and the Archbishop of Tyre, the latter a contemporary, are altogether silent on the point.

But, say the writers, to whom we have already alluded, it was on the same occasion, that the doge, finding his needy confederates reduced by the length of the siege to the greatest financial difficulties, placed at their disposal a sum equal to 100,000 ducats;[1] and this large disbursement, as well as his long absence from Venice, placed Michieli

[1] I would willingly believe with Daru, that this was in the form of a gift; but I cannot get rid of a notion, that it was simply advanced as a loan.

himself under the necessity of paying the Venetian troops with certain leather money,[1] struck by his private order, and stamped with the arms of his own family. The issue of the new coin was, however, accompanied by a declaration and a promise that, on the return of the fleet to Venice, it should be redeemed at once at its full nominal value; a promise which, we farther hear, was discharged with scrupulous exactitude.

On our part, admitting that the foregoing story is strongly impressed with the stamp of probability, we are still of decided opinion that it should be received with caution and reserve. Yet, while we view it on the whole with a sceptical eye, we are rather inclined to attach credit to that portion of it, which refers to the loan and the subsequent issue of certain leather specie, unmarked otherwise than by the arms of the reigning doge;[2] and more especially in the former case, since it is stated by Sanudo, that the posterity of Michieli bore on their scutcheons, as a memorial of the circumstance, a ducat of gold.[3]

In the mean time, the fall of Tyre had become generally known. In the Holy City, it soon formed the topic of debate and the burden of choruses. And there was a fete and a jubilee throughout Palestine, when the people learnt, that the sacred banner of the Cross floated over the loftiest tower of the city, supported, on one side, by the

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 424); Paolo Morosini (lib. v. p. 108); Pietro Giustiniani (lib. ii. p. 26); Salverte (*Civilization*, p. 152).

[2] This is what Grotius, I apprehend, would term an act of sovereignty on the part of Michieli.

[3] Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 437). See also Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 270), and Marin (iii. p. 49).

great standard of Saint Mark, on the other by the flag of Tripoli.[1] Not long afterwards, too, the unfortunate Baldwin was released from the dungeons of Charan,[2] and returned to a capital and a throne, which he owed to the stranger.

But, while the Doge of Venice viewed, on his part, with unfeigned satisfaction his own acquisitions, and while he shared the general joy and enthusiasm, the edict of Johannes Comnena still haunted and occupied his thoughts; and he inwardly contemplated a measure, which was to imprint the name of Domenigo Michieli in letters of blood on the soil of Greece. It was not in the new kingdom of Judah that a people, whose early associations and growing ambition attached them to the empire of the East, were likely to quench their thirst for wealth, or to gratify their love of monopoly. The ports of Syria were, it was true, a convenient and regular market for their cargoes; but they also afforded a market for the cargoes of Genoa and Pisa; and the republic felt that a trade, which was thus opened without preference or distinction to herself and her rivals, was a very poor and slender equivalent for the exclusive privileges, which she had heretofore enjoyed in the Bosphorus and Archipelago. At the period, when the Venetians first took an active share in the Crusades, they half imagined that they were moving in advance of the other mercantile communities of Italy, and that, by anticipating and outstripping competition, they would secure to themselves, throughout the

[1] Bernard the Treasurer (*Acquisitio Terræ Sanctæ*, ch. 120).

[2] William of Tyre (lib. xiii. p. 278); Michaud (lib. v. p. 56).

Holy Land, privileges scarcely inferior in value to those, which they already claimed in the ports of the empire. In this hope or expectation they were disappointed to some considerable extent. They had, indeed, acquired a preponderance in Ascalon, Saint Jean d'Acre, and Tyre; but Genoese traders established their marts in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Cesarea, and Ashur; the Pisans obtained a quarter in Antioch and Laodicea; and a Pisan churchman was now Patriarch of the Holy City. It was not unnatural, that such a posture of affairs should be regarded with extreme dissatisfaction by the monopolists of the Rialto; and the public mind of Venice was already in a state of irritation and ferment, when intelligence arrived, that a prohibitory edict had been published by the son of Alexius Comnena against the commercial intercourse of the republic with the empire of the East.

In the earlier part of her career, Venice had sought with avidity, and preserved with care, the patronage and protection of the Byzantine emperors, from whom her patricians in many cases traced their direct descent;[1] and, prior to the commencement of the Crusades, her merchantmen formed, with one exception,[2] the sole channel of communication between Europe and the East. Nor was this connection either disinterested in its nature or one-sided in its advantages: it was, on the contrary, essentially one of mutual policy and benefit. From time almost immemorial, the chief magistrate of the republic had borne, as a peculiar mark of imperial favour, the

[1] For instance, this was the case with the Zeni, the Tiepoli (Theophili), and the Giustiniani.

[2] Amalfi.

honorary title of Hypatos, Protospatarius, or Protosebastos;[1] and during the ninth and tenth centuries, the flower of the Greek marine had been composed of the sailors of Venice and Amalfi. Above all, at a period when the ancient monarchy of Rome was fast falling to decay, and the throne of the Cæsars already began to totter ominously on its base, the republic had more than once afforded invaluable assistance to her old and, as it seemed, her natural ally. The battles of Crotona, of Tarentum, and of Butrinto, though the details were imperfectly recorded, were always to be remembered with gratitude and pride; and it was generally felt, that the defeat of the Normans in 1081, on the bay of Durazzo, by the illustrious Selvo, had alone averted the impending ruin of the empire. On the other hand, it was to be admitted that, since their country had acquired position and importance in the scale of nations, the language, the bearing, and the behaviour of the Venetians towards the subjects of the court of Constantinople had undergone a great change. Privilege had begun to assume the form of prerogative. The charter exacted, rather than obtained from Alexius Comnena in 1085 had turned the brains of the merchants; and they now viewed with an eye of scorn a Power, whose weakness was so imperfectly disguised by its profuse liberality. Thus it happened that, when Johannes Comnena succeeded in 1118 to the throne of his father, he found Constantinople already parcelled out among a wealthy and arrogant colony of foreign

[1] Hypatos signified imperial consul; Protospatarius, first sword-bearer.

traders, even among whom he might readily distinguish the islanders by their haughty and insolent demeanour. This was no longer to be borne; the national honour was outraged; the majesty of the Roman purple was violated; and in the fourth year of his reign, the proud and sensitive Calojohannes conceived the design of getting rid, by one sweeping measure, of an evil, which was daily growing more monstrous and irremediable. Accordingly, in the course of the year 1122, while it was still unsuspected that any such design was in contemplation, a decree appeared, commanding the Venetian residents in Constantinople and the other Greek ports to quit the imperial dominions without delay or exception, and declaring the suspension of all commercial intercourse between the republic and the empire. This edict of non-intercourse, though probably evaded to some extent, was still severely felt by the mercantile community in Venice. A transient sensation of surprise at the strange abruptness of the measure was rapidly succeeded by a strong and universal feeling of angry indignation. The whole capital resounded with complaints and invectives, the people readily lending themselves to the cause of a large and influential class; and the means of reprisal at once became a subject of general debate and deliberation. The fleet under Michieli himself, which had just accomplished, in conjunction with the other pilgrims, the reduction of Tyre, was at present contemplating a return to Europe in anticipation of the winter: it was now decided and arranged that, on his homeward course, the doge should scour the Greek seas, and teach the perfidious ruler of a perfidious nation to respect the name of Venice.

Charged with that high and terrible mission, Michieli, having taken leave of the Barons, quitted the shores of Palestine, and shaped his course for Rhodes, where he expected to procure a fresh supply of stores and provisions, of which the troops were greatly in want. The Rhodians, however, alleging their oath of fidelity and allegiance to the Byzantine court as a pretext, refused to accede to the demand; the Venetians were far from wanting in an inclination to appeal to force; and the island was occupied and given up to pillage.[1] From Rhodes the fleet proceeded to Scio, where it was the doge's intention to fix his quarters for the winter. In the following spring, he successively invested and sacked Andros, Samos, Lesbos, Mitylene, and the island of Modon, in the Morea;[2] everything fell a prey to fire and sword; and everywhere the youth of both sexes were carried away as captives and slaves. The humiliation of Grece was speedily followed by the recovery of the Dalmatian fiefs from the Hungarians; Zara, Trau, Spalatro, and Sebenigo, which had again renounced, at the instigation of Stephen,[3] their allegiance to the republic, were again reduced to submission; and a heap of shapeless and neglected ruins was shown by the succeeding generation as a proof of the might of Venice and the stubborn obstinacy of Belgrado.[4] These brilliant exploits brought the campaign to a close; and in the month of June, 1124, Michieli returned to his

[1] Pietro Marcello (*Vite*, p. 34); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 271).

[2] Lebeau (xvi. p. 18).

[3] Bonfinius (dec. ii. p. 249); Muratori (vi. p. 411).

[4] On this occasion, says Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 272), some of the Dalmatian fiefs received new *podeste*. Sebastiano Ziani was sent to Sebenigo, Giovanni Badoer to Trau, and Pietro Gradenigo to Spalatro.

capital, after an absence of one year and ten months. The fame of his victories had gone before him; information of the valuable treaty, concluded between him and the King of Jerusalem in the preceding year, had also reached Rialto; and the day, on which the doge made his entry into the city, was a day of triumph and rejoicing. Michieli had certainly earned a title to the national gratitude by his achievements as a soldier and a diplomatist; his successful negotiations endeared him more particularly to that class, with which the dominant passion was a lust of gain; and there were few in the community, who might not kindle into warm admiration at the recital of the battle of Jaffa and the siege of Tyre.

The trophies, which the victor had brought from the East were, moreover, of no ordinary kind. They consisted of the ten Turkish galleons and their rich freights; the spoils of Tyre, Rhodes, and the Ionian Isles; and other miscellaneous articles of plunder, among which not the least prized were the embalmed remains of Saint Donatus and Saint Isidore. And in the chapel of the Baptistry, in the Basilica, the altar, it might be remarked in aftertimes, was formed of one enormous block of polished granite which, the priest was proud to relate, had been transferred from Tyre to Rialto in 1124 by the Doge Domenigo Michieli.

Two years later, the island of Curzola having seceded from its allegiance, and having been recovered by Marsilio Zorzi, a Venetian patrician, was given to him in hereditary fief; and in 1127 a squadron of fourteen galleys, which had been sent to the Mediterranean to protect the Venetian

flag in that sea, took possession of Cephalonia, one of the Ionian Isles, which still belonged, at this period, to the Eastern empire.

In the following year, the doge having, like so many of his predecessors, formed a wish to pass the remainder of his days in the privacy of the cloister, expressed an intention to abdicate; he had selected as the place of his retirement the abbey of San Giorgio Maggiore which, it will be remembered, had been founded, a century and a half before, by the monk Morosini. Michieli survived his pious resolution, however, only a few months; the vaults of San Giorgio were opened to receive his remains; and on his tomb the Venetians wrote with pride and truth:—*Terror Græcorum jacet hic* (1128).

There was certainly much that was worthy of praise and admiration in the victor of Jaffa, in the valiant warrior, who had struck terror into the heart of Calojohannes, and made a *deed of arbitrary violence and injustice* recoil on the head of the doer. Without laying claim to abilities of a very high order, or indeed to great elevation of spirit, Michieli was beyond doubt a man of superior parts. The Syrian campaign shews, that he was far from deficient in the requirements of a good general; the manœuvres at Jaffa exhibit no slight acquaintance with naval tactics; and he also possessed, in an eminent degree, those manly and soldier-like qualities which, in an age of military pilgrimages, were most sure to meet with popular favour. Judging, however, if we may, from the scanty and imperfect annals, which have reached us, of the reigns of both these princes, we should be inclined to place the

late doge intellectually scarcely on a par with the second Faliero, who preceded him in the ducal office, morally far below him. The fact is, that the character of Michieli was too strongly marked by the two prevailing vices of the times, in which he lived, warlike sanctity and religious intolerance; to those gentler virtues, by which, in 998, the great Orseolo had won the heart of Istria, and his son Ottone had regained it twenty years afterwards, the hero of Jaffa and Tyre was a stranger; and the massacre of his prisoners on the scene of his first victory, as well as the odious barbarities, which are laid to his charge during the cruise in the Mediterranean, will always remain dark blots on his memory.

But there was one feature in the late reign, which has been left unnoticed, and which is far too remarkable to be overlooked in the present place. Prior to this period, we are told,[1] no steps of any kind had been taken toward the general nocturnal illumination of Venice; and consequently, when the daylight failed, the city was left in a state bordering on total obscurity, save where a small oil lamp, suspended over the door of a chapel or a monastery, afforded a faint and glimmering light to the contiguous buildings. Watchmen had been instituted, it is true, at a very early period, and likewise, it appears, certain civil magistrates, with local authority, entitled *Capi dei Contradi*, on whom devolved the duty of maintaining order and tranquillity in their respective parishes or wards: nor can it be well doubted that in cases, where a person of rank and distinction had to traverse the streets

[1] Dandolo (lib. x. p. 359); Sanudo (*Vita*, p. 555); Romanini (ii. p. 57).

by night, he was amply protected by his linkmen and servants.[1] The comparative security of a class did not, however, diminish to any material extent, the cause of general inconvenience and complaint. The darkness, it was found, favoured the designs of thieves and assassins; robberies were committed with impunity; and acts of violence were boldly perpetrated, the offenders counting on the difficuties, which attended detection and identification. Besides, in a place like Venice, where the streets were regularly intersected by narrow canals, and where a public way terminated not unfrequently in the lagoon itself, the want of illumination was felt with peculiar severity; and as the metropolis became more densely populated, more wealthy, and consequently more exposed to brigandage, this want grew, of course, more serious and insupportable. To meet the evil, therefore, a scheme was devised, in the time of the Doge Michieli (1117-28), by which a small lamp was fixed at the corner of every street, in those recesses, which are ordinarily left in popish cities, for images of the Virgin or some favourite saint; the choice of such a receptacle was principally guided by a wish to impart a religious character to the new institution; and we are led to infer that the trifling outlay, which was necessarily involved, was defrayed by the almsgiving parishioners. The introduction of artificial light into the streets of a large mercantile city such as Venice was attended by incalculable advantage to the community. The measure also indicates a progressive step in Venetian civilization.[1]

[1] I am surprised to find that M. Salverte, in his excellent work on

Michieli was succeeded by his son-in-law Pietro Polani, who was recommended to the vacant magistracy by his position as well as his abilities. His election, however, was by no means unopposed. An influential party, consisting of Arrigo, the son of Domenigo Dandolo of San Silvestro, and several members of the noble house of Badoer, expressed, it appears, their strong and decided disapproval;[1] and the success of Polani in gaining his object engendered a feeling of ill will between his family and that of Dandolo, which was far from favourable to the peace of the commune. It was in vain that, to pacify the malcontents, the doge raised their leader in 1132, on the decease of Giovanni Veneto, to the metropolitanate, though, indeed, Dandolo was still young, and his abilities untried; the wound remained unhealed; and it was not thoroughly closed, till the original ground of quarrel had been removed by the death of Polani twenty years afterwards.[2]

The republic of Venice, though the greatest and most important, was not the only State, which owed its existence to the fall of the Roman empire in the West. There were several other towns on the Adriatic, which might trace their liberty and independence, almost their origin, to the same cause; and among the rest we may distinguish Pesaro, Senigaglia, and Fano. These free towns had heretofore, it appears, succeeded in maintaining with each other relations of concord and amity; but in 1141,

Venetian Civilization, omits all mention of the illumination of the metropolis with oil-lamps during the early part of the twelfth century.

[1] Romanini.

[2] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 184).

the thirteenth year of the long and obscure reign of Pietro Polani, we find that a secret conspiracy was formed against Fano by her neighbours, whose design was to effect a partition of her territory between them. The intended victims of this base plot received, however, timely warning of the danger, which threatened them; in their distress and perplexity they applied for protection to the republic; and they consented to purchase that protection with an oath of allegiance to the doge, and an annual tribute of one thousand pounds of oil to the church of Saint Mark. A free trade was, at the same time, established between Fano and the lagoon; and, in case of need, Venice engaged to afford her new dependency succour and support.[1]

Two years after the acquisition of Fano, the Paduans conceived a fresh source of annoyance to their powerful neighbour in the diversion of the Brenta from its natural bed by the creation of an artificial canal. The republic at once demanded an explanation of the insult and the removal of the obstruction to trade and navigation; the message of the doge was treated, as on a former occasion, with insolence and disdain; and it became necessary to employ compulsion. A body of troops, jointly commanded by Guido Montecchio, a Veronese,[2] and Pietro

[1] Amiani (*Memorie Storiche della Citta di Fano*, pp. 140-1); Antonio Quadri (*Compendio*, p. 110); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 279); Marin (iii. p. 54); Tentori (iii. pp. 33-4); Pietro Marcello (*Vite*, p. 36).

[2] Muratori (vi. p. 476); Sandi (ii. p. 446; P. Morosini (lib. v. p. 110); Diedo (i. p. 64). The choice of Montecchio was a happy one: for it appears that the Paduans had merited the vengeance of Verona by a similar operation on the Adige.

Gambacurta, was taken accordingly into Venetian pay; and a second battle took place on the banks of the Brenta, in which the enemy were routed with a loss of three hundred and fifty prisoners. There was no wish or design, however, on the part of the republic, to press the advantage thus easily gained; the defeat was considered of itself a sufficient chastisement; and, on the Senate of Padua giving a humble assurance that it had harboured no intention of offending the dignity of Venice, the captives were restored to liberty.[1] The newly created canal had probably rendered the Brenta too shallow to admit the approach of a fleet, and the Venetians might have no national force immediately available for military operations: yet we cannot but think that, in enlisting the services of mercenary troops in this instance, the islanders were partly actuated by a desire to inflict a still deeper wound on the pride of the parent city.

In the year 1145, an announcement was received at Rialto, that some Pisan cruisers had ascended the gulf, and taken possession of Pola, a fief of the republic; and a small fleet was instantly despatched, under the command of the doge himself, to repulse the aggression. But the enemy retired, on the approach of the island-squadron, without risking an engagement; the Venetian commander was not disposed to enter into a pursuit; and Pola, which was gravely suspected of collusion and perfidy, was merely required to renew the oath of allegiance which she had tendered, a century and a half before,

[1] Verus (lib. i. p. 51). See also the 42nd Extract from the *Chronicle of Mark*.

to the illustrious Orseolo. Still, it was considered that a war with Pisa would have been the ultimate consequence, had not the Holy See, strongly and solemnly deprecating such unseemly and treacherous disunion in the Christian commonwealth,[1] assumed the office of mediator, and succeeded in restoring amicable relations between the two communes.

The sack of the Ionian Isles and the other Greek dependencies, during the campaign of 1123-4, by the late Domenigo Michieli was an insult to the majesty of the Roman purple, which had rankled in the bosom of the haughty and choleric Calojohannes, who hardly anticipated such an occurrence; and, after an unusually long reign of five-and-twenty years that prince had died in 1143, the bitter and implacable enemy of Venice and the Venetian name. He was succeeded by his son Emanuel who, though far inferior to him morally, possessed an equally strong will, an equally powerful understanding, and a much cooler temper.

In the meanwhile, however, Roger II., the nephew of Robert Guiscard, having united under his sway Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, had conceived the bold and ambitious design of incorporating that monarchy with the territories still belonging to the empire of the East, and

[1] Laugier (ii. pp. 56-7); Pietro Marcello (*Vite*, page 36); Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. xiii.); Roncioni (*Istorie Pisane*, lib. v. page 256); Diedo (lib. iv. page 63); Fougasses (decad. i. lib. vii. page 97). Some of these writers say that the Holy See, by interfering at this juncture, had the merit of terminating a feud between the Pisans and Venetians, which had lasted desultorily ever since the defeat of the former by Giovanni Michieli off Rhodss in 1099.

of transferring to his own brows the golden diadem, which at present was the patrimony of the house of Comnena. With this object in view, the King of Sicily invaded the Greek frontier in 1147, took Thebes and Corinth, ravaged a large portion of Livadia, and finally obtained possession of Corfu, where he planted a Sicilian garrison. But Emanuel, on his part, had not regarded these hostile movements unconcerned; so soon as he was fully apprised of the plans and intentions of Roger, the emperor had hastened to prepare for war; and one of his earliest cares had been to renew the relations, which had been suspended during the greater part of his father's reign, with the republic of Venice. The bearer of the imperial message of peace and reconciliation, who arrived at Rialto toward the latter part of the year 1147, was instructed to urge to Polani, on his master's behalf, that the son could not be justly accounted responsible for the acts of his father; to intimate that his present Majesty was perfectly prepared not only to re-establish the relations of amity and good will, which had at all times subsisted between the Byzantine court and the commune of Venice, but to throw open to Venetian traders the ports of Cyprus, Candia, and Megalopolis, which had been omitted from the chrysobole, accorded in 1085 to the republic by his grandfather Alexius.[1] In conclusion, he was to represent the magnitude and imminence of the danger, to which the empire of the East was at present

[1] Laugier (ii. pp. 70-1). See also for the general statement, Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 282); Lebeau (xvi. p. 119); Morosini (lib. v. p. 111); Giustiniani (lib. ii. p. 28); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 391).

exposed by the Sicilian invasion, and to solicit the aid of the Venetians in the recovery of Corfu, with which undertaking it was proposed to open the campaign of 1148.

As Emanuel had probably foreseen, his pacific advances met with general satisfaction and favour. The republic did not object, under such circumstances, to bring to a close the rupture, which had now subsisted upwards of a quarter of a century, and to resume her intercourse with Greece; and the doge assured the imperial envoy that that portion of the compact, which had reference to the participation of his commune in the siege of Corfu, should receive prompt execution. Having in this manner achieved the object of his mission, the Greek took his departure; he was followed, or perhaps accompanied, by Andrea Zeno and Domenigo Morosini, who had been charged by Polani with the ratification of the new commercial treaty, the basis and preliminaries of which were, as we have remarked, already arranged.

The republic was in secret thoroughly well pleased at the turn, which had been thus given to affairs. It was true that the long suspension of the chrysobole had not been attended by the ruinous results, which it might have entailed at a period, when Venetian commerce was less widely extended over the different parts of Europe and Asia. But it was still an evil of no ordinary magnitude; and we may fairly suppose that the complaint and vexation, to which it had given rise among the mercantile class, were aggravated by the feeling, that it was inconsistent with the national dignity to facilitate a reconciliation by coming forward in the character of suppliants and pe-

titioners. Yet the Venetians had hardly entertained the hope, that the Byzantine court would be ultimately led to take the initative, and consequently much less had they expected that it would be prepared to make such valuable concessions in their favour. Besides, Sicily was a Power, which the republic had reason to regard, at this period, with peculiar aversion, her commerce having suffered of late years most severely from the piratical depredations of the cruisers which, with the assumed connivance of Roger, infested that coast; her losses from the source in question were estimated at no tless than 4,000,000 *scudi*;[1] and it is natural to imagine that, independently of other considerations, she was far from ill disposed to draw the sword in a cause, which promised to afford the means of reprisal.

Accordingly, and agreeably to the assurance given to the emperor, a fleet of fifty-four sail, commanded by the doge in person, left the lagoon for the Mediterranean in the early part of the year (1148). But the armament had scarcely reached Caorlo, when the sudden illness of Polani obliged him to transfer the important trust, which had naturally devolved on him, in the first instance, as the chief magistrate of the republic, to his son the Count of Arbo and his brother, the Bishop of Castello; and, under the joint command of Reniero and Giovanni Polani, the island squadron duly arrived at Corfu, where it effected a junction with the Greek fleet, already assembled before that place.

The defenders of Corfu, however, inspired by a just

[1] Marin (iii., lib. i. ch. ix.).

confidence in their advantageous position, and imbued with a deep hatred of Greek tyranny, were fully prepared to resist the efforts of the allies to the last extremity; and it soon became tolerably manifest that, so long as the means of subsistence remained, all attempts to reduce the place to submission must be ineffectual. Although the Greeks, animated by the presence and example of their sovereign, who commanded them in person, spared no exertions in the attainment of the desired object, three months passed away, in fact, without producing any result; and we are not surprised to find, that the unsuccessful nature of the operations had the effect of promoting disunion among the confederates. One day, in the third month of the siege, a quarrel arose on some slight ground between two companies of Greeks and Venetians, who happened to be encamped in contiguous quarters; words grew high: an appeal was made to arms. Gradually the fray thickened; both sides gained numbers and strength, the new-comers naturally taking part with their countrymen; and the active interference of Azuches, the Greek admiral—who arrived, after some delay, with a strong body of troops to separate the combatants,—while it appeased the tumult, exasperated the Venetians, who were implicated in the broil, to such a degree, that they refused to act any longer with the forces of the emperor, and withdrew in their ships to the neighbouring islet of Asteria. Here they discovered, it seems, the imperial barge lying at anchor: the sight suggested to the mariners a singular mode of indulging their resentment. Having decked the cabin of the vessel with some arras and finery, which fell

into their hands, they procured an Ethiopian, in ridicule of the swarthy complexion of Emanuel, and, having placed on his shoulders with comic solemnity the sacred robe of purple, they placed him on a chair of state, and saluted him with the title of Cæsar and Augustus. Comnena was, no doubt, severely irritated, when this gross and malicious affront was brought to his notice: yet the emperor felt, that it was hardly judicious, in the present aspect of affairs, to endanger the alliance by giving vent to his feelings; and the offenders were easily persuaded by the promise of pardon to return to their duty.

We cannot but regard it as a somewhat strange circumstance, that historians have made no mention whatever of the course pursued by the two Polani in this disgraceful, though ludicrous, transaction. There is clearly no sufficient ground for the belief, that the lieutenants of the doge had the weakness to lend their active support to an idle quarrel between two bivouacs, or that they compromised their own honour and that of the nation, to which they belonged, by countenancing such a gross outrage on propriety, and so flagrant a violation of military discipline, as the late scene in the state-cabin. Yet it is improbable that they were wholly ignorant of what was passing. The truth appears to lie between. That the admirals exhibited a want of decision and energy, which was highly reprehensible, is, we think, tolerably evident. But we strongly hesitate to charge them with the far graver offence of giving the excesses of the mutineers the cover and sanction of their authority.

Meanwhile, the attempt of the confederates to reduce

the place to submission had been incessant and fruitless; the resistance of the besieged was obstinately pertinacious; and Corfu only yielded to the pressure of famine in the month of September.[1] The conquerors (if they deserved the name) obtained immediate possession; a division of the Greek army supplanted the Sicilian garrison; and the Venetian commanders, considering that the republic had now discharged her engagements with the Byzantine court, determined to direct their course homeward. But they had hardly lost sight of Corfu, when they fell in with nineteen armed privateers, carrying the colours of the King of Sicily; the strangers were on their return from a predatory cruise on the Bosphorus, richly laden with booty;[2] and they not unnaturally sought at first to avoid a collision with the greatly superior force, which was bearing down upon them. In that attempt, however, they were unsuccessful; the prizes were easily secured; and the victors, in whose breasts the advantage, thus gained without difficulty had excited, it seemed, rather than allayed, the appetite for plunder, shaped their course for the coast of Sicily. The whole island was given up to sack and pillage. The fields were laid waste. The orchards and vineyards were destroyed. The hamlets were depopulated and burnt.[3] In such a manner Sicily made full, though tardy, atonement for the great losses, which the privateers of Roger had inflicted, a quarter of a

[1] Lebeau (xvi. p. 131); Nicetas (lib. i. p. 58).

[2] Sandi (ii. p. 450); Laugier (ii. pp. 72-3); Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. xiii.); Lebeau, *ut suprâ*.

[3] Verus (lib. i. p. 50); Sabellico (lib. vi. p. 14); Guazzi (*Chronica*, p. 209).

century before, on Venetian commerce, and her terrible fate might warn the nations to respect the flag of Saint Mark.

But the fierce exultation of the victors was checked on their return home by the sad and unexpected intelligence, that the illness of the doge had been recently (August) attended by a fatal result; and Giovanni and Reniero might share a regret, that they had not been present at the deathbed of a brother and a parent.[1]

In the choice of a successor to Pietro Polani, the popular assembly had fixed on Domenigo Morosini, the same who, in conjunction with Andrea Zeno, had, in the preceding year, been sent to Constantinople to conclude the mercantile treaty with Emanuel Comnena. In addition to this diplomatic service, the new doge had, it is said, acquired considerable renown in the wars of the Crusades, where he probably served under the banners of Ordelafo Faliero and Domenigo Michieli. But he was now advanced in years; and he readily resigned to his son Domenigo whom, on his accession, he created Count of Zara,[2] the more active and arduous duties of the magistracy.

The first care of the Doge Morosini was the termination of the scandalous feud, which had now lasted upwards of a quarter of a century between the Church and the State, and the violence of which had ultimately reached such a height, that the Patriarch of Grado and his party were obliged to quit the Dogado. No hinderance was

[1] Diedo (lib. iv. p. 65); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 283).

[2] Lucius (*De Regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ*, lib iii. p. 138); *Topografia Veneta* (anonymous) i. p. 19.

offered to their departure; but their dwellings, not excepting the palace of Dandolo, which immediately adjoined the church of San Silvestro, had been at once demolished by the order of Polani. To mollify the persecuted faction, and to appease the complaints of the Holy See, the new doge caused these houses to be reconstructed at the public expense; and the exiles, satisfied by that concession, and not ill pleased, under the change of circumstances, to obtain an amicable settlement of the difference, readily accepted the invitation of Morosini to return to their country. They were without reserve reinstated in their former position; their leader resumed the duties of the metropolitanate; and the happy reconciliation, which had been thus effected between the two families, was shortly afterwards celebrated and confirmed by the espousals of Andrea Dandolo, the primate's nephew, with the daughter of Reniero Polani, the late doge's son.[1]

The years 1148-49 were undistinguished by any event worthy of notice. Whatever may have been the general state of Italy, Venice, at least, enjoyed almost perfect repose and tranquillity. But, in 1150, the republic appeared once more in arms: her hostilities were directed against the corsairs of Ancona, whose depredations had reached a point, at which it became necessary to resort to vigorous measures of self-defence. Morosini determined to make an example of one of the principal offenders, which might have the effect of intimidating the rest; and with

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 493); Diedo (lib. iv. p. 657); Pietro Giustiniani (lib. i. p. 28); Muratori (vi. p. 496); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 248); *Estratti della Cronaca di Marco*, Nos. 43 and 62.

this view a powerful, though small fleet, under the joint orders of his son and Marino Gradenigo, Admiral of Venice, was sent to the Adriatic to reconnoitre, and to seize any privateers, which fell in their way. The result of the operations was the capture of five Anconese galleys and their commanders, Robert Guiscard and Giacomo Molini. The former were condemned as prizes; the pirate-captains perished on the scaffold.[1]

In the following year, the spirit of disaffection having manifested itself anew among the Venetian colonies in Dalmatia, a squadron of fifty galleys, of which the younger Morisini was allowed to hold the undivided command, was at once despatched with the object of repressing this rising tendency to revolt; each of the fiefs was visited by the admiral in succession; and from each he exacted an additional tribute, as well as a renewal of its oath of fidelity.[2]

While the influence of the Hohenstaufen was being gradually impaired by the slow decay of the Western empire, and the diffusion of more liberal ideas, the doges of Venice had never ceased to solicit, and had seldom failed to obtain, the periodical acknowledgment of the ancient privileges of the republic in the ports of the kingdom of Italy. These privileges were examined and approved in 1137 by Lothar III. at the request of the deputies of Pietro

[1] See note, p. 388 *ante*.

[2] Sandi (ii. p. 44); Tentori (iii. p. 336); Amiani (*Memorie di Fano*, p. 113); Paolo Morosini (lib. v. p. 112). Rovigno was required to send (in addition) five *romanati* annually; Parenzo, fifteen pounds of oil and twenty rams; Omago, two *romanati*; Citta-Nuova, forty pounds of oil. See Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 284).

Polani, his son the Bishop of Castello, Pietro Donato, and Orio Orio; and again, in 1154, by Frederic Barbarossa, who had lately received, at the hands of Adrian IV., the golden diadem once worn by Charlemagne. The embassy, accredited to the court of Germany on the latter occasion, by the Doge Morosini, consisted of his son, the Count of Zara, Vitali Faliero, and Giovanni Bonaldo.

In 1153 the doge had also procured from the Prince of Antioch a trading charter, which accorded to Venetian merchants the same privileges and peculiar immunities in that town and state, which they already enjoyed in Ascalon and Tyre.

But by far the most important and remarkable event in the reign of Morosini was the conclusion in the following year of a treaty of commerce and peace with William I., the successor of Roger II. on the throne of Sicily. Scarcely more than five years had passed, since the two Polani, charged with a terrible mission of vengeance, had landed on that coast, and abandoned the whole island to the ravages of fire and sword: it might be imagined that their visit would not have been readily forgotten. Yet, both Powers were now alike content to merge the remembrance of past injuries in a compact of mutual policy and benefit. On the one hand, William, dreading the collateral hostility of Venice in the war, which he was then waging with Emanuel Comnena, was anxious to secure, at least, her neutrality. On the other, the republic was fully sensible of the advantage of trading on easier and more lucrative terms in the ports of Sicily. So, if the constantly menacing and hostile attitude of Hungary, if the increasing

uncertainty of their relations with the Byzantine court[1]—though those relations had been recently placed on a footing of apparently the firmest and friendliest character, had not also argued the expediency of forming a closer connection with the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, a regard to their interests as a mercantile community might of itself have persuaded the Venetians to enter into such an alliance.

The ratification of the treaty with William was, however, the last public act of Morosini; the death of that prince took place in February, 1156; and his remains were interred with the usual solemnities in the monastery of the Holy Cross in Luprio, in the same vault in which, some years before, he had laid his consort Sophia.[2] His successor in the chief magistracy was Vitali Michieli, the second of that name, and the third of that family, who had been invested with the ducal berretta.

Before we consider the reign of Vitali Michieli II., it becomes necessary to take a rapid survey of the events, which were passing on the continent, and of which, it seemed probable, the republic would, at some future period, be more than the passive spectator.

In the month of February, 1152, Frederic, Duke of Suabia, was elected King of Germany at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and afterwards invested with the silver crown at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the presence of the dignitaries of the

[1] Bonfinius (*Res Ungaricæ*, dec. ii. lib. vi.).

[2] On his tomb we read as follows:—*Hic jacet Dominicus Mauroce-nus, Dux Venetiarum, cum Sophiâ sua uxore Ducissâ, qui Dux fuit bonus, et prudentissimus, plenus fidé et veritate, &c.* See Sansovino (lib. v. p. 200.)

realm, and the delegates of the free towns. The news of the succession of Frederic was received with general joy and satisfaction, and it may be said, that few princes ascended the throne of the Cæsars under more favourable auspices than the nephew and successor of Conrad III. He was still in the full vigour of manhood. His election had been unopposed. He was already the darling of the people, who fondly recognized in him the true descendant of Charlemagne; and the fine qualities of his mind, and the manly graces of his person, endeared him to the brave German nation. But, unhappily for himself and mankind, Barbarossa had formed an estimate of the kingly prerogative little compatible with popular freedom. It was his pride and his misfortune to think, that the empire of the West was the allotted heritage of the heaven-born house of Hohenstaufen; and, so far from admitting the Papacy as a superior, or even a co-ordinate, Power, he employed the Double Key as a symbol of the sovereign and equal authority of the emperor over the Church and the State. That a prince, imbued with such sentiments, should view with mingled scorn and astonishment the new and lofty pretensions of a large proportion of the Lombard towns to liberty and independence, was not to be accounted strange; and he determined to embrace the opportunity, which his proposed investiture with the iron crown by the Roman Pontiff afforded him, of reducing to obedience the insolent faction, which had dared to invade his undoubted prerogative, and to make a question of the doctrine of divine right. Accordingly, in the first years of his reign, Frederic, having arranged the affairs of Ger-

many, hastened to join at Constance the army, with which he purposed to pass the Alps, and to march into Italy.

The Peninsula was already divided between the two hostile factions of the Ghibellines and the Guelphs. The former favoured and espoused the pretensions of the emperor to absolute sovereignty; the latter was that, which questioned the nature and extent of his authority. The Guelphic cities, which included Crema, Cairo, Piacenza, Asti, Rosate, and Tortona, had concentrated their power and influence in Milan, reported the strongest fortress in the kingdom; the Ghibellines, among which we distinguish Rome, Lucca, Cremona, Treviso, Verona, Padua, and Aquileia, had chosen as their headquarters Pavia, the ancient capital of the Lombard kings. It could not be concealed that, even without any external support, the Imperialists were, at present, by far the more powerful and numerous of the two: the strength of the popular party lay in their compactness and unanimity. The Ghibellines professed themselves, as it has been observed, the zealous supporters of the royal prerogative; their rivals sought to harmonize the rights of the citizen with the obligations of the subject.[1] It was natural, under such circumstances, that the arrival of Frederic at Constance, in the October of the year 1154, to take command of his troops should be regarded alike by his

[1] I cannot pretend to enter into much detail on the subject of the visit of Frederic Barbarossa to Italy, which must be familiar to every reader of Sismondi. It is my aim, in a synoptic sketch, to enable the reader to form a just notion of the course of events.

enemies and his adherents in the Peninsula as an event of no ordinary importance. For it was generally felt that a struggle, in which a great question was involved, was at hand, and that great national interests were staked on the issue. The eyes of the Guelphic faction were therefore fixed wistfully and watchfully on the movements of the army of Italy; and, if they paused to consider that, in a short time, the whole forces of Germany might be thrown into the scale against them, and reduce them to a feeble minority, they might well contemplate with disquietude the grave uncertainty of their position. It was at this juncture that an incident occurred, which accelerated the impending crisis, and tended, as it seemed, to develop the spirit of the age. During the stay of Barbarossa at Constance, an embassy arrived from Lodi, to implore his aid and protection against the Guelphs at Milan, who had burnt the suburbs of the place, and grossly ill treated the inhabitants. The emperor lent a favourable ear to the prayer of the deputies, and sternly commanded the Milanese to make reparation for the damage, which they had inflicted. The latter, however, disregarded his order, and defied his authority; their consul even trampled his letter under foot.[1] Such audacity was unexampled. The report of the deputies on their return struck Frederic with amazement. At first, he scarcely credited the news. But he was no sooner

[1] Otho Morena, a contemporary, and Bishop of Trisingur, has left a chronicle, called *Gesta Frederici*, which I have consulted, though, I must add, with reserve: for the good churchman's work has to me much the air of an apology. Morena's chronicle is in the valuable collection of Muratori.

convinced of its truth, than he saw the necessity of having recourse to vigorous measures; and, having abruptly quitted Constance at the head of his troops, the emperor crossed the Alps, and planted the golden eagle at Ronceval, near Piacenza, where he awaited the presence, and expected the homage, of the delegates of the cities, and the vassals of the realm.[1] The Ghibellines promptly obeyed the imperial summons; the Guelphs wholly disregarded it; and Milan, not satisfied with observing, like the rest, a cold and contemptuous silence, reiterated her defiance. The emperor was incensed beyond measure at this fresh indignity; it was galling to his pride in the last degree; it wounded him to the heart's core; and he fully determined to bury the insult in the ruins of Milan. Still, the difficulties, with which he had to contend, were, on closer observation, far more serious than he had anticipated, or indeed than he was willing to own. The conviction slowly forced itself upon him, that he had underrated the importance and magnitude of the task, in which he was engaged; and from the good understanding, which appeared to exist among the Guelphs, he was led to apprehend a long and obstinate resistance to his arms. Moreover, during his stay in the Peninsula, disease had laid a heavy hand on his troops, and the levies, which he expected from the Rhenish provinces and from Bohemia, had not yet arrived. Affairs of urgency, too, recalled him to Germany, and, previous to his return, he was anxious to visit Pavia and Rome, in order that he might encircle his brows with the Iron Crown and the

[1] Sismondi (ii. p. 88).

golden diadem. Under these circumstances, the emperor resolved to content himself, for the present, with detaching from the League those towns, which lay around Milan, and now served her as outposts and bastions; and, having with this design left Ronceval with the army, he successively took and garrisoned Cairo, Asti, Rosate, and Tortona, the last of which, however, he levelled with the ground. From Tortona he proceeded to the Ghibelline capital where, amid the acclamations of the people, he assumed the Iron Crown of Lombardy; and thence he marched to Rome, where he communicated to the Pontiff Adrian his intention of receiving at his hands the imperial rigol. His Holiness, indeed, had long expected the visit of Barbarossa; his Majesty met with a cordial and splendid reception; and, after a brief sojourn in the Capitol, he took leave of the pope, passed through the duchy of Spoleto, forced the passage of the Etsch, and ultimately reached Ratisbon in the course of 1156, leaving the fate of Italy suspended in the balance till his return.

Two years afterwards, however, and while the emperor still remained in Germany, Adrian IV. was removed by death (1158); and the Electoral College, divided between the two factions, nominated two successors to Saint Peter's chair, the Ghibelline cardinals claiming the vacant tiara for Victor IV., their rivals preferring the Chancellor Roland Ranuci, who assumed the designation of Alexander III. Frederic, on his part, espoused of course the pretensions of Victor, who shewed himself a better courtier than Ranuci; and, after a brief sojourn in the Campagna, the latter was obliged by the persecution

of the Imperialists to embark at Genoa, and to seek an asylum at the court of Louis VII. (March 1161).

Barbarossa had returned to Germany, however, only with the small and feeble remnant of the army, which he had raised at Constance two years before. But the loyal enthusiasm of the people, and their prompt reply to his call for new levies, speedily produced a fresh force, inferior to the former neither in numbers nor in discipline. With these troops he again crossed the Alps in July, 1159, and opened the campaign by laying siege to Crema, one of the principal members of the League. Crema yielded to the pressure of famine in the following January (1160). The rest of this year was spent in negotiations with Alexander, who had already withdrawn from Rome, and in awaiting the reinforcements, which gradually arrived from Suabia, Hesse, the Rhenish Provinces, and Bohemia. The siege of Milan, which had now been deferred so long, was consequently not formed till the month of August, 1161; and seven months elapsed before the besieged, reduced to the last stage of misery and distress, were forced to capitulate (March 1162). The conduct of the emperor toward the vanquished was marked, it is fair to admit, by singular clemency and forbearance: for it must be remembered, that the Milanese had earned a full title to his enmity and vengeance. They had pillaged his treasury at Trezzo. They had beaten his troops at Cassano.[1] They had sacked and burnt Lodi and Castiglione.

[1] Muratori (vi. p. 545) calls this place *Carcano;* but I prefer the version of Sismondi (ii. p. 127), which, I may mention, is supported by Beraud (*Geographie*, p. 191).

They had, besides, expelled his podesta, and defied his authority. Yet the treatment, which they received at his hands, served to humble their pride without disgracing his humanity. The walls and fortifications of the town were partly levelled; the *palladium*, a tree bearing a cross, was felled with a German axe; and, while the lives of the inhabitants were spared, the nobles were condemned to march out of the place barefoot, their naked swords suspended from their necks. The reduction of Milan led to the cession or conquest of a large portion of Lombardy; and having thus obtained, as he thought, a firm footing in the Peninsula, Frederic appointed Reinold, Archbishop of Cologne, his lieutenant, and returned once more to Germany.

Excepting the marriage of his eldest son Leonardo, Count of Ossero, with the niece of the King of Hungary, and that of his other son Nicolo, Count of Arbo,[1] with the daughter of the Hungarian Prince Lladislaus, the early years of the reign of Michieli III. were uncharacterised by any feature of historical interest; and the republic, mainly intent on promoting the national prosperity by the extension and development of her commerce, continued, during that period, to preserve an attitude of strict neu-

[1] The Counts of Arbo were elected subsequently to 1166, in the following manner:—The Arbese selected, in the first instance, four of their citizens, whose names they submitted to the doge; and his Serenity chose the one, whom he considered the *worthiest*. If it so happened that the electors were unable to fix their choice on four candidates, whom they could conscientiously recommend, the only course left to them was to nominate a Venetian citizen, and submit their nominee to the doge's approval. In case the matter was not settled within five months, the right of appointment became vested solely and exclusively in the latter.

trality. At the same time, the sympathies and good wishes of the Venetians had been, from the very commencement of the war, with the popular party, whose policy appeared to be so eminently favourable to their views and designs. The islanders had long viewed with considerable uneasiness the proximity of a powerful monarchy to their lagoons, and the union of the Iron Crown and the golden diadem on the brows of a single man: it was therefore with more than complacency, that they at present regarded the prospect of the division of Italy among a large number of petty states, which, they considered, it would be at all times easy to overawe, and which they might, perhaps, annex eventually to the dogado. This natural leaning of the republic toward the Guelphs soon assumed a more distinct and practical form; and in the early spring of 1162, the period, when the Milanese were almost reduced to the last extremity, a large convoy of supplies was sent to their relief by the order of Michieli. But the assistance thus rendered, though it was accepted with gratitude, was both tardy and insufficient; Milan was shortly afterwards (March 6) obliged to yield to the overwhelming force which Frederic had concentrated on the place; and the victor, having in this manner disposed of his most formidable enemy in the Peninsula, determined to make the republic feel his resentment at her manifestation of sympathy with the insurgents.[1] Accordingly, prior to his departure for

[1] The reign of Michieli III. is given by Marin (iii. lib. ii. ch. iii.); Sandi (ii. lib. iii. art. 5); Tentori (iii. pp. 36-40); Faroldo (*Annali*, pp. 115-120); Morosini (lib. v. p. 118); P. Giustiniani (lib. ii. p. 30); Laugier (ii. p. 110); Dandolo (lib. ix. pp. 287-96); Galibert (ch. iv. p. 4); Romanini (ii. ch. iv.); Da Canala (*Cronaca Veneta*, ss. 27-8).

Germany in 1162, he appealed to the loyalty and jealousy of Ulric, Patriarch of Aquileia, the old and natural enemy of the metropolitanate, the Bishop of Adria, and the municipalities of Padua, Vicenza, Ferrara, and Treviso, which consented to organise among themselves a coalition against the Venetians. Each of the members of this new confederacy took such a part as was most agreeable to its policy and interest. The Adrians and Paduans seized on Cavarzero; the Aquileians made a descent on Grado; the Ferrarese, Vicentines, and Trevisans, advanced against Caorlo. The movements of the League, however, were, fortunately for the republic, slow and ill concerted, and its triumph was of short duration. For, so soon as intelligence had reached Rialto of the hostile designs in contemplation by the Imperialists, the Doge Michieli adopted prompt and vigorous measures of self-defence. A small, yet efficient fleet of galleys was equipped without delay; and at the sight of the flag of Saint Mark, the aggressors withdrew in precipitation. But the honour of the Venetian name was not to be insulted with impunity. The vengeance of the republic fell on the two principal offenders, the Bishop of Adria and the Patriarch Ulric. The territories of the former were sacked and laid desolate: the latter, on his way back to Aquileia in fancied security with the spoils of the metropolitanate, was surprised near Castello by Michieli and his squadron, and conducted a prisoner to Venice, where a reluctant promise was exacted from him, that the Patriarchs of Aquileia, in commemoration of the circumstance, should send to Rialto in perpetuity an annual present of an ox and twelve boar-pigs,

whose pompous and solemn immolation might indicate the fate, which their too warlike predecessor and the twelve canons, his companions on the occasion, had deserved and escaped.[1]

The limits of the present work will not admit a lengthened digression on the events, which had passed in the Peninsula since the election of Roland Ranuci in 1159 to the chair of Saint Peter: nor shall we attempt to describe with any degree of minuteness the voyage of the pontiff from the Gulf of Genoa in March, 1161, to the banks of the Loire, and his return from Paris four years later to the Castle of Saint Angelo. Yet we may offer the general remark that, during the interval, the imperial power had been gradually on the decline, and that the Guelphs, who now openly acknowledged Alexander as their leader, had gradually acquired power and importance. Both factions, it is almost needless to say, continued to regard each other with bitter and relentless animosity. Frederic declared Ranuci out of the ban of the empire: Ranuci pronounced Frederic out of the pale of the church. Milan and Pavia were at open war. Padua and Seprio revolted against their governors. The Ghibellines counted on the support of Germany: their rivals engaged the sympathy of Greece, Sicily, France, and England. Mantua, Vicenza, Ferrara, Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia, Treviso, and Verona, though

[1] These representatives of Ulric and his canons were conducted round the city in procession, and afterwards sacrificed in the presence of the doge, who caused the quarters to be distributed among the people. See Giuseppe Michieli (*Feste Venezione*, ii. p. 36); and the 60th and 61st Extracts from the *Chronicle of Mark*. I have also consulted Rubeis, Menzel, Muratori, Saint Marc, Ughellus, and all the Venetian historians.

they still outwardly professed attachment to the emperor, already half leaned to the popular side, and many other towns, such as Rimini, Parma, Modena, Bologna, Imola, Faenza, and Forli, exasperated at the cruelties and exactions of the imperial government, merely awaited a favourable opportunity of declaring themselves for Alexander and the League. Such was the threatening and ominous posture of affairs, when Victor IV. breathed his last on the 28th of April, 1164. The Ghibellines conferred the *vacant* tiara on Paschal III. But the new pontiff was soon obliged by the preponderance of the opposite faction to join the emperor at Wurtzburg; and Alexander entered Rome in triumph in November, 1165. A year and a half later, after several months of negotiation and delay,[1] a treaty, binding the contracting parties to afford each other mutual support, and to make no peace with his Majesty till they had placed their municipal rights and privileges on a firm and secure footing, was signed at Pontita (May 29, 1167) by the delegates of Padua, Treviso, Vicenza, Verona,[2] Ferrara, Brescia, Bergamo, Milan, and Piacenza; and prior to the close of the campaign, the oath was accepted, and the act was subscribed by Parma, Lucca, Modena, Bologna, Reggio, Vercelli, Lodi, Como, Novaro, and *Alexandria*.[3] The republic of Venice, however, content, it

[1] The ambassador from Treviso to Padua during these negotiations was, according to Bonifacio (*Istoria de Trevigi*, lib. iv. p. 128), Giovanni *Buonaparte*.

[2] Dalla Corte (*Storia de Verona*, lib. v.).

[3] Alexandria was built in 1168 in honour and memory of Ranuci, at a distance of 40 miles from Milan and 25 miles from Pavia. Sismondi tells us (ii. pp. 131-2) that a year after its foundation, this town was

might seem, to watch the course of events, still preserved her neutrality, and her example was followed by the small, though by no means inconsiderable, borough of Ancona, which occupied at present a somewhat anomalous position, as being the only place in the Peninsula, that remained true to the court of Constantinople. The *Lombard League*—the name, by which the great and famous federation of 1167 is known to posterity, was, as it were, a gauntlet of steel interposed between the people and their oppressors, and from the moment of its formation may be dated a new era in the history of Italy. To every thoughtful mind the reflection must here suggest itself, how, in the course of twelve years, the selfish and unwise policy of Frederic Barbarossa had gradually estranged from him and the House of Hohenstaufen a loyal and devoted people, and how, in that comparatively short period, his overbearing and intolerable tyranny had compelled those towns and municipalities, which had once been his staunchest and steadiest adherents, to range themselves on the side of the revolutionary party, and join in asserting the rights of the citizen.

It now becomes necessary to turn, for a while, from the affairs of Italy and the League, and to call attention to the state of the relations, at this epoch, between the republic and the empire of the East. The Venetians still enjoyed, indeed, the ample and valuable privileges, which they had acquired from time to time at Constantinople and the other Greek ports, and the reconciliation effected

able to furnish a contingent of 15,000 men to the League. See Fleury also (*Hist. Eccles.* xv. p. 243).

in 1147 between the two Powers, had happily not been disturbed by any subsequent event. But the islanders, partly inspired by the spirit of enterprise, actuated partly by the growing preponderance of Pisa and Genoa[1] in a capital, where Venice was once paramount, had not failed to establish themselves simultaneously in the countries, which bordered on the Greek monarchy: they had formed settlements at Cairo, Tunis, Medina, Alexandria, and on the Black Sea; they traded on easy and advantageous terms with the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; and in 1168 Comnena learnt with extreme dissatisfaction, though without surprise, that the Doge Michieli had renewed with William II. the treaty of commerce and peace, which Morosini had concluded in 1154 with his predecessor, William I. The emperor had vainly endeavoured to prevent that dangerous alliance: he was equally unsuccessful in his attempt to destroy it. William declined to accept the hand of Maria Comnena, which was offered to him as an inducement for joining his Majesty in a war with the republic: the republic, although, indeed, the advances of Emanuel to the doge were of the most flattering

[1] These two republics also formed advantageous alliances with the Western empire: for instance, the treaty accorded by Frederic to Genoa, granted Syracuse in fief to that commune, as well as 250 baronies in the valley of Noto; it *gave* her the right of electing her own consuls; dispensed with her service in the field except in Provence; conferred on her the privilege of trading in all the Italian ports, *and in those of the republic of Venice;* and, lastly, precluded his Majesty from ratifying a peace with the King of Sicily without the free consent of the consuls of Genoa. See Sismondi (ii. p. 142.) The Byzantine court likewise extended to Pisa and Genoa privileges of an equally valuable and honourable character (ii. p. 191).

nature, firmly refused to entertain any proposition, which would lead to a rupture with the king. The unfavourable result of this twofold negotiation was vexing and humiliating in the last degree: it too plainly shewed that the connection between Venice and her new ally was too strongly cemented by a sense of mutual interest to be broken, or even weakened, by intrigue; and the rejection of his overtures by a Power, which was ordinarily, and, as he might consider, of right, so obsequious, was infinitely more galling to the pride of Comnena than the cold reception, which his ambassador met at the court of Sicily. As his envoys reported to their master the ill success of their respective missions, the scene in the state-cabin recurred to the memory of Emanuel: every insult, every indignity, which the Greeks had endured in his own time, and during the reign of his father Johannes, at the hands of the republic, was brought at once to his recollection; and he determined to wreak his vengeance on those proud islanders by wounding them severely in the part, which he knew to be most tender and sensitive. Yet the emperor was sufficiently collected to conceal his intentions: no word, no expression, tending to excite distrust, was allowed to transpire or gain publicity; and the Venetian traders, resident at Constantinople and throughout the empire, were still unsuspicious of danger, when, on the 3rd of May, 1170, their vessels were suddenly seized, their property was confiscated, and their persons were consigned to the dungeon.

The union of Leonardo and Nicolo Michieli with two scions of the royal house of Hungary had encouraged

and seemed to justify, an inference, that the king, Stephen II., would be a faithful friend, and might become a useful ally. Indeed, the amicable relations, which the republic had maintained with that prince since the rebellion of the Dalmatian colonies in the year 1151, were not interrupted or disturbed till the early part of the year 1170; when, one day, Domenigo Morosini, the late doge's son, and Count of Zara, arrived unexpectedly in the lagoon, with an announcement that a fresh revolt had taken place at the seat of his government in favour of the King of Hungary, and that he had been obliged to seek safety in flight. The news of this defection created a profound and general sensation of surprise and regret. But immediate measures were concerted for the recovery of the lost fiefs, and the intimidation of those, which, it appeared probable, would follow her example. A fleet of twenty-seven sail was accordingly got in readiness without delay to put to sea; and the doge, having himself assumed the command, was soon on his way to Zara. He was accompanied by the Count Morosini. On the arrival of the squadron at its destination, Michieli demanded an instant and unconditional surrender, the Hungarian garrison, from a mixed motive of pride and fear, turned a deaf ear to the summons; and the Venetians having succeeded in taking the place by storm, razed a portion of the walls and fortifications, and exacted two hundred hostages. The judicious severity of Michieli prevented the disaffection from becoming general. For Trau, Spalatro, and other towns belonging in fief to the republic, alarmed by the prospect of a similar fate,

expelled their Hungarian garrisons and governors, and returned to their allegiance. It was shortly after the return of the doge from this expedition that the earliest intelligence was received of the misfortunes, which had befallen the Commonwealth in the East, and the coincidence might serve to excite a suspicion, that a secret understanding, little favourable to Venetian interests, existed between the courts of Hungary and Constantinople.[1]

The public indignation at the embargo, which was undoubtedly under any circumstances a gross violation, on the part of Emanuel, of the laws of nations, was violent beyond measure; and a general disposition, which the doge did not discourage, manifested itself in favour of an instant declaration of war against Greece. But more moderate counsels ultimately prevailed; the merchants, who were naturally of a cooler and more calculating temper than the multitude, and who usually came forward on the political stage as the advocates of peace, were still inclined to negotiate; and that large and powerful class succeeded in shewing, that it was far more expedient to seek an explanation of the recent affair, than to plunge rashly into hostilities.

For his part, however, Comnena was, in truth, hardly satisfied with the success of his stratagem: the seizure of the property and persons of the Venetian traders was not so extensive as he had wished and expected; he was

[1] Bonfinius (*Res Ungar.* decad. ii. lib. vi. p. 274); Lucius (*De Regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ*, lib. iii. p. 124); Saint Marc (*Abrégé*, lib. v. p. 338); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 500).

anxious to ensnare the objects of his vengeance more thoroughly and completely; and he determined to avail himself of the willingness which, he was assured by his agents at Venice, had been exhibited in many influential quarters, to effect an *honourable* reconciliation with the Byzantine court. In the autumn of the same year (1170) an envoy was accordingly despatched to Rialto, to express to Michieli on behalf of his master, the sorrow and regret of the latter at the past occurrence, to offer ample compensation for the losses, which the sequestration of their property had entailed on his commune,—the natural ally of Rome,—and to invite the Venetians to resume the privileges and position, which they had heretofore enjoyed in Constantinople and throughout the empire. The republic, more especially the mercantile community, was thoroughly duped and deceived by this specious and flattering message. The mutual order of non-intercourse was revoked. The captives were liberated from the dungeons. The vessels were released from the embargo. The confiscated property was restored to its owners. In fact, the relations between the two Powers were considered in all respects as re-established on their former footing; and two plenipotentiaries, Sebastiano Ziani and Orio Malipiero, accompanied by a convoy of merchantmen, at once set out for Constantinople. The Venetian deputies, who had embarked in one of those vessels, which were bound for the Greek capital itself, arrived at the Golden Horn in the very early part of 1171; they were treated by Comnena with every mark of distinction and kindness, which might serve to gratify

their pride, and disarm their suspicions; and his Majesty might already smile at the success of the stratagem, by which he had got his enemies so completely in his power. The sequel will shew, how his design was frustrated on the very eve of its execution.

There was at Constantinople at that period an eminent shipbuilder, a Venetian by birth, whose skill in his craft had recommended him to the notice and favour of the emperor. The latter loaded him with honours, admitted him into his confidence, entrusted him with the command of a man-of-war, and, as a special mark of his friendship and esteem, allowed him, during the recent proscription, to preserve his property and his freedom. This man, whose patriotism, it might seem, was stronger than his gratitude, received timely information of the danger, which threatened his unsuspecting countrymen; and, one day, he waited on Ziani and Malipiero, and disclosed to them the existence and nature of the plot, as well as the period, which had been fixed for its execution. The deputies were assured, that Emanuel had merely disguised his treacherous project with fair and deceitful professions, in order that he might allure them to his harbours and his dungeons, and he intimated that, on the 12th of March[1] ensuing, it was in secret contemplation to seize their persons, and lay an embargo throughout the empire on their vessels and merchandsie. The shipbuilder then proceeded to suggest an ingenious method, which he had conceived of extricating them from the impending danger. The vessel, of which he was the

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 293); *Cronaca Altinate*, lib. v. p. 142.

commander, was the swiftest in the Greek navy;[1] he was willing to place it at their disposal, as well as his own services; and if they approved the plan, they, and all the Venetians residing in the Greek capital, might anticipate detention by a timely flight. Ziani and his companions were thunderstruck at the intelligence. They naturally hesitated at first to attach credit to the statement of their informant. But, after some consideration, they entered into the proposed scheme; the ship was manned and equipped; the hull and sides were covered with felt, steeped in vinegar, as a precaution against the Greek fire; and, the fugitives having quitted the Chrysoceras at[2] nightfall, reached the Propontis, before their absence was discovered and denounced. The breeze was propitious, the velocity with which the vessel flew over the waves, soon rendered the pursuit of the Greeks hopeless and unavailing; the fire, which was launched at her hull and sides, dropped harmlessly into the sea; and after a rapid voyage of twenty or five-and-twenty days, the deputies and the companions of their flight reached the lagoon (April 1171). Previously to their arrival, however, several merchants having suspected the plot, and eluded, in like manner, the embargo, had conveyed the intelligence to Venice, and the execrable perfidy of the emperor was already the leading topic of debate in the Senate and on the Rialto. Every voice now cried for vengeance; every hand offered to bear a part in a war with Emanuel; and such was the vehemence of their

[1] Nicetas (*De Manuele Comneno* (lib. v. p. 223); Lebeau (xvi. p. 260).
[2] Compare the *Estratti della Chronica di Marco*, No. 47.

resentment, that the Venetians cropped their hair, and shaved their beards close, in order not to present, in their personal appearance, any similarity to the Greeks. The Doge Michieli, on his part, exhibited a heartfelt sympathy with the public emotion; war was at once resolved on; measures were taken to organise a powerful fleet;[1] and all vessels, which might be trading or waiting for cargoes, in the ports of Syria and Egypt, were ordered to report themselves at Venice on or before the 1st September, the day fixed by the doge for the departure. The whole city contributed to the formation and cost of the naval armament. One hundred galleys were built in as many days. Twenty transports were set apart for munitions and supplies; and ten long vessels were accepted or exacted from the loyalty of Zara. The joy of the people was exuberant. The nobles vied with each other in munificence and enthusiasm; and the Giustiniani, emulating, it might seem, the noble zeal of the Fabii,[2] offered their services and their lives to the republic. And

[1] See the 48th Extract from the *Chronicle of Mark* in the 8th vol. of the *Archivio Storico Italiano;* and *Martino da Canale,* §. 27.

[2] They were almost equally unfortunate. The whole family with the exception of Marco, Pietro, and Nicolo Giustiniani, perished in the East. The two former appear to have been already married; but Nicolo Giustiniani, a Benedictine monk, was afterwards united, with the sanction of his Holiness, to Anna Michieli, the doge's daughter, who received as a marriage-portion, the streets of San Moise, San Bragola, and San Pantaleone. The union produced six sons, whose career is obscure, and three daughters, of whom one died a virgin and an abbess, the other espoused the Marquis of Este, and the third became the wife of the Signor De La Scala. See Sansovino (lib. v. p. 231; and lib. xiii. p. 558). The fact is mentioned also by Faroldo, Paolo Morosini, Pietro Giustiniani, Romanini, &c.

this generous fervour was diffused among all classes of the community. During the whole summer of 1171, the arsenal and dockyard presented a busy scene of preparation; the shipwrights and workmen laboured at their task strenuously and incessantly: for the eye of their country was upon them; and the fleet was announced as ready to sail on the appointed day. Michieli himself assumed the command; and, since the term of his absence was necessarily uncertain, and a rupture with Stephen or Barbarossa might demand the presence of a chief, his eldest son Leonardo, Count of Ossero, was declared, in the meanwhile, vice-doge of the republic.

On the 1st September, the usual signals were given for departure; the anchors were heaved; the sails were unfurled; and the great standard of Saint Mark was hoisted on the flag-ship of his Serenity. According to a previous arrangement, a detachment of thirty galleys was sent to recover Trau, which had again gone over to the King of Hungary; the rest proceeded to Ragusa for a similar purpose; and, those two places having been reduced to submission and partly dismantled, a fresh junction was effected, and the whole fleet set sail for Negropont. The Greek governor of that island, measuring the strength of the enemy by his vanity or ignorance, had undertaken to oppose the Venetians, and protect the empire. But, on hearing their force and proximity, he was induced to abandon this chivalrous resolution, at the same time that he hastened to embrace the ready alternative. Embarking on his state-galley, the governor advanced to meet the approaching squadron, and solicited

an interview with the Venetian commander. He expressed his unfeigned surprise at the hostile attitude, which the republic had assumed; he confidently traced to some misrepresentation of facts, or some misconception of the truth, so strange an interruption of the friendly relations, which had almost invariably subsisted between the Byzantine court and the government of his Serenity; and he assured Michieli, that Emanuel would gladly repair any losses, which he might have been instrumental in inflicting on Venetian commerce. In conclusion, while his Majesty lamented the prospect of a war, so clearly and completely opposed to the true interests of both the belligerents, he had not ceased to entertain the hope of effecting a peaceful and bloodless reconciliation with the republic; and, as an important step toward the consummation of that desirable object, the governor of Negropont suggested that, before such a course became impracticable, it should be ascertained, whether the existing difference between the two Powers could not be adjusted without an appeal to arms. The representations of the speaker produced on the mind of the doge a mixed and doubtful impression; he justly regarded with distrust and reserve any statement or proposal emanating from a faithless and perjured court; and he could hardly suppress a smile at the new light and aspect, in which the governor set the point under discussion. It was not difficult, indeed, to believe that the views and policy of Emanuel were pacific in their tendency, and that he was really reluctant to engage in hostilities, until hostilities were forced upon him by circumstances. For it was well known,

that the navy of Constantinople was disorganised, that the finances of the State were at a low ebb, that the national temper was indolent and unwarlike, and that the emperor himself, now advanced in years, was no longer capable of taking the field. It might also be true, to some extent, that a war with Greece was at variance with the commercial interests of the republic. But it was not to be overlooked or forgotten that the honour of a free and independent nation was at stake; and Michieli was well aware, that the extension and development of Venetian trade in other quarters during the two past centuries had rendered the more sordid consideration of secondary importance. On the other hand, it was already October; the campaign of 1171 would be necessarily very brief in its duration, and very indecisive in its results; the arrival of the winter season would bring operations to a close, before they had well commenced; and by negotiation, if nothing was to be won, nothing was to be lost. The doge, therefore, without actually consenting to an armistice, was not indisposed, on the whole, to listen to terms of accommodation; and Manasses Badoer, and Pasquale Bishop of Equilo, the latter of whom was recommended by his intimate acquaintance with the Greek idiom, received instructions accordingly to proceed to Constantinople for the purpose of opening a conference with his Majesty; while Michieli, on his part, removed from Negropont to Scio, where it was his intention to spend the winter, and to await the return of the deputies.

Badoer and his companion were treated by Comnena with even more marked attention and courtesy than Ziani

and Malipiero had, on a former occasion, experienced at the hands of that wily and faithless prince; and from his gracious and conciliatory manner, they were led to conclude that his Majesty was prepared to meet them with large concessions, and to make full reparation for the losses, which their commune had sustained. But this illusion was gradually dissipated, as day after day passed without leading to any definitive result. At last, the suspicions of the deputies were strongly awakened; nor was it long before their eyes were opened to the truth. A Jew, named Aaron, who served the Byzantine court in a confidential capacity, had, from some real or supposed injury, conceived of late a violent animosity against Emanuel: the present posture of affairs afforded him an excellent opportunity of gratifying his resentment. Not very long subsequently to their arrival, Isaac sought a private interview with Badoer and his colleague, to whom he briefly explained the object of his visit. He intimated to the embassy, that it formed no part of the emperor's design to come to a settlement with them. He assured them that, in his dealings with the republic, his Majesty was neither serious nor sincere. In fact, his sole motive in making pacific overtures was to gain time. In corroboration of his assertions, their informant pointed to the busy preparations for the ensuing campaign, and more especially, to a large and powerful fleet, which was in course of construction, and which would be shortly placed under the orders of the Admiral Andronicus Contostephanos.[1] These disclosures had the desired effect

[1] Lebeau (xvi. p. 262).

on the deputies, who took their departure without farther ceremony, and the Jew had the satisfaction of knowing, that the negotiation had been broken off by his immediate agency.

But on the return of the two envoys to Scio, they were shocked to find, that a great calamity had befallen Michieli and the republic. During their absence, and while they were wasting precious time at Constantinople, the plague had made its appearance in the Ionian Isles. The Venetian troops fell an easy prey to the epidemic; the mortality increased from day to day; it soon became barely calculable; and as the vessels of the fleet were gradually rendered inefficient by the loss of their complements, and in many cases of the whole crew, the painful necessity arose of committing them to the flames, in order that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. In this manner, the noble armament of a hundred and thirty sail, which had left Venice in the preceding autumn in the full confidence of victory, was reduced to one half its original strength. And still the virulence of the fever abated not. So soon, however, as he had learned from the deputies the result of their late mission, Michieli, partly actuated by an idea, that he might escape beyond the range of its fatal influence, and in part by his anxiety to avoid a collision with the Greek commander, who was said to be approaching the Ionian Isles with a fleet of a hundred and fifty sail, shifted his moorings in succession from Scio to Lesbos, from Lesbos to Lemnos, from Lemnos to Scyros, where a visible decrease of mortality encouraged him to celebrate the feast of the Passover (April 14-18, 1172).

In the course of the few days, during which he remained at Scyros, his Serenity, yielding to the force of existing and unforeseen circumstances, appears to have wholly relinquished the design of carrying on the war, and of recommencing hostilities in the spring. But the doge resolved, if it were possible, to maintain his present ground, until the fear of contagion, as well as the symptoms of disease, were altogether removed. The refractory and insubordinate spirit, however, which manifested itself among the troops, naturally in more than ordinary degree homesick, the undoubted proximity of Contostephanos,[1] and the crippled condition of his own forces, compelled him to forego even this precaution, and to assent, against his better judgment, to an immediate return. The necessary orders for the departure of the fleet were accordingly issued, the dead were interred; the dying were carried to the place of embarkation; several ships, which had been disabled since the late melancholy sacrifice, were burnt to the water's edge; and the remainder, consisting of seventeen galleys and five transports, shaped their course for the Adriatic. That course, however, gradually assumed the character of a retreat, the retreat, in its turn, of a flight: for the Greek admiral, who had narrowly watched the movements of the islanders, followed closely in their track; nor did he desist from the pursuit, until the fugitives had doubled the Cape of Saint Angelo.[2] Contostephanos then leisurely retraced his steps, while the

[1] Fiorelli (*Monarchia d'Oriente*, part ii. p. 316); Sabellico (lib. vii. p. 152).

[2] Nicetas (*De Manuel Comneno*, lib. v. p. 225).

Venetians, having in the first instance touched at Ragusa and Sebenigo, which had again seceded from their allegiance, made sail for the lagoon. It is to be inferred, that the republic was already aware of the calamitous issue of the expedition, which she had sent to the Levant in the preceding year. But we apprehend that she was hardly prepared for worse things, than she had yet suffered. And worse things came. The mariners, who communicated to their countrymen at home the melancholy tidings, communicated also the fatal infection. The terror and dismay of the people were extreme; the rapidity, with which the epidemic extended its ravages, in a place, where no sanitary laws of a fixed or systematic nature were as yet established, was truly appalling, and exceeded the measure of common belief. It had soon penetrated into every quarter, and found a victim in every house. The entire community seemed to be stricken by a mortal sickness. Every sphere and class of society was affected by it in a greater or less degree; every family mourned the loss of some of its ornaments and supporters; and among those, whom the fever had laid low, were counted no fewer than a hundred members of the great and powerful house of Giustiniani. With three exceptions, indeed, that ancient and illustrious race was at present completely extinct; the survivors were Pietro, Marco, and Nicolo, the last of whom, a youth in his seventeenth year, was now cloistered in a monastery of Benedictines. His Serenity was deeply moved by the noble and enormous sacrifice, which their fallen kinsmen had voluntarily made in the service of their country; such generous and disinterested

patriotism was without a parallel; and he resolved, as a mark of his own sympathy, as well as in acknowledgment of their high claims on public gratitude, to offer his only daughter Anna in marriage to Nicolo Giustiniani. The young Benedictine readily accepted the flattering proposal; a papal indulgence, which was procured without difficulty, absolved him from his oath of celibacy; and his union with the doge's child was blessed by an issue of six sons and three daughters. Of the former, we know nothing. But it appears that the eldest daughter died a virgin and an abbess. The second espoused the Marquis of Este. The youngest became the wife of the Signor De la Scala. Nor should we omit to mention that the two remaining Giustiniani both obtained subsequent eminence and distinction. Pietro was afterwards made, it is said, Procurator of Saint Mark; Marco became in 1174 Admiral of Venice; and these offices were accounted inferior in point of rank and importance only to the Crown itself.

The doge was far from being an indifferent spectator of the harrowing and heartrending scene, which passed around him. On the contrary, while he deeply deplored the actual occurrence of an evil, which he had probably dreaded as a contingency, Michieli spared no exertion, which might help to alleviate the public misery and distress. And when they took into consideration the difficult position, in which he had been placed by the unexpected course of events, men of sense and discernment, although they might hesitate to pronounce him altogether free from blame, generally agreed in exonerating their chief ma-

gistrate from the grave imputation of carelessness and indifference. There was, however, a large section of the community, comprising, beyond doubt, a considerable number of bereaved and disconsolate families, which openly and loudly accused him of being the author of their misfortunes. They traced them with clearness and confidence to two causes, his want of foresight and his excessive credulity. The attacks of this party were bold, violent, and bitter. They soon assumed a really formidable character. Their clamours and murmurs gradually arrested the public attention. The subject, which formed their ground of complaint, became the leading topic of conversation and debate. It was canvassed on the Broglio. It was agitated in the Senate, where it gave rise to frequent and angry altercations. The sitting of the 27th May appears to have been more than ordinarily stormy and tumultuous. The debate turned on the affairs of the republic, and the causes and consequences of the recent disaster; all sides spoke with great warmth and emotion; and high words were exchanged. The doge was present at the discussion, in which he took the natural part of vindicating his own conduct, and refuting the charges, which the hostile faction preferred against him. But, as the hour drew near, at which the Arrengo rose, his Serenity quitted the Hall of Assembly and proceeded in the direction of Saint Zacchary's Abbey, where he purposed to attend vespers. He was followed at a short distance by a few of the malcontents; Michieli, as was his custom on all ordinary occasions, was unguarded and alone; and he had not gone very far, when one of the

party behind him, stepping suddenly in advance of his companions, plunged a dagger by a rapid movement into the bosom of the prince. The murderous blow was not, it seems, instantaneously fatal; the assassin contrived to effect his escape; and his unfortunate victim, summoning by one desperate effort his remaining strength, staggered toward an adjacent convent, where he hastily received the viaticum, and expired almost immediately afterwards in the arms of the priest.[1]

The news of this dastardly and execrable outrage was speedily circulated through the various quarters of the city. It excited an universal feeling of horror, indignation, and pity; and the melancholy end of Michieli, producing a reaction not uncommon in such cases and at such junctures, reconciled to his memory even the most violent and implacable of that party, which his alleged mismanagement of the war had, toward the close of his career, arrayed against him. The murderer was easily traced and secured. His name was ascertained to be Marco Casiolo. His identity and the proof of his guilt were established without much difficulty; he was sentenced by the Ducal Criminal Court to be beheaded; and, as a mark of peculiar infamy, the scaffold on which he was executed, was erected in front of his own dwelling in the *Calle delle Rasse*, between the Riva degli Schiavoni and the street of Saint Philip and Saint James. The house itself—a stone structure—was afterwards demolished;

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 296); Fr. Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 558); Saint Marc (*Abrégé*, v. p. 348); Curti (*Memoires sur Venise*, ii. p. 117); *Cronaca Altinate*, lib. v. p. 145.

and it is generally believed, that the demolition was accompanied by an order, that it might never be rebuilt in the same material.[1]

We do not hesitate to avow our inability to delineate, with any degree of exactness, the character of the late doge. The accounts, which have been transmitted to us of his long and eventful reign, extending over a period of seventeen years and three months, are too scanty to afford a correct notion of his personal merits and abilities. Still, speaking in a general sense, the acts of his government indicate the possession of great parts, and of a capacity far above the common level; and, if we may judge from his conduct of the war in the Levant, the principal and closing event of his reign, we should say that the errors of his policy were errors of the judgment rather than of the understanding. That his administration was distinguished by a spirit of ultra-commercialism, by that propensity to negotiate, when negotiation was not only dishonourable, but unavailing; ought not to create surprise; that was a vice by no means singular in him; it was one, which was inherent in the community, of which he was a member; it was a national peculiarity, a constitutional taint. Moreover, in forming an estimate of Michieli's character, we should not overlook the important fact, that at the time, when he ascended the throne of Venice, a dark and heavy cloud hung over Italy and the republic. The ambitious projects of Frederic Barbarossa were just then beginning to excite dread and suspicion in the Peninsula. Those, who already meditated opposition were

[1] Romanini.

in an anxious and unsettled mood. The Guelphs felt, and with sufficient reason, that their position was one of grave uncertainty. On the one hand, it was difficult to judge, how far the emperor was prepared to respect their municipal privileges; on the other, they were very doubtful, how far it would be in their power, in the event of such a course becoming necessary, to offer an efficient and prolonged resistance to so mighty an antagonist. For that voice, which awoke, some years later, in tones of thunder, was still feeble and indistinct. The popular party, though animated and inspired by a resolute spirit, was still inconsiderable both in numbers and strength. No one yet dreamt of the formation of the Lombard League. The Ghibellines, on the contrary, composed a powerful and numerous faction. A large majority of the Italian cities were in the service of the emperor. The Holy See was loyal and servile in the extreme. The republics of Genoa and Pisa shewed every disposition to afford Frederic their sympathy and support. The Iron Crown awaited his Majesty at Pavia. The golden diadem awaited him at Rome. Such was the ominous and threatening aspect of the political horizon, when the late doge was called in the month of February, 1155, to succeed Domenigo Morosini. The Venetians fully appreciated the difficulties and perils, with which they might have to contend. They foresaw that, to reconcile the conflicting interests of their country as an independent Power and a community of traders, it would be necessary to proceed with wary and cautious steps. But the sympathies of the islanders were from the beginning with the popular party;

and it was their most ardent and sincere wish, that the exertions of the Guelphs in the cause of liberty might be attended by speedy and complete success.

Michieli lived to see this wish in large measure gratified and realised. He lived to be a witness of the formation of the Lombard League, and of the frustration of all the emperor's tyrannical projects. He was among those, who viewed with heartfelt satisfaction a whole nation rising in revolt against its oppressor. But that great and glorious consummation was the slow and laborious work of many years; and the intervening space was long remembered by men as a time of painful suspense and anxiety. For, during the greater part of that period, the Ghibelline cities, partly, perhaps, opposed to her political principles, more envious of her commercial prosperity, maintained toward the republic an attitude menacing and hostile. She counted among her secret or avowed enemies Padua, Adria, Aquileia, Ferrara, Ravenna, Ancona, Vicenza, Verona, and Treviso. The Bishop of Adria, a warlike and powerful prelate, who was thought to be fonder of poaching and freebooting than of reading masses or kneeling before crucifixes, had long been desirous of annexing the Venetian town of Cavarzero to his see. It was well known that the Patriarch Ulric of Aquileia, not less bellicose and unscrupulous, and who cherished toward the metropolitan an hereditary feeling of deadly animosity, was ready to seize the first opportunity of making a descent on Grado, and despoiling of her vast treasures the ancient and venerable church of Saint Euphemia. It was equally notorious that the Emperor Frederic regarded

the republic with no friendly or favourable eye. A prince, less thirsty than himself for power and dominion, might, indeed, not unreasonably view with dissatisfaction the finest, most capacious, and most convenient harbour on the coast of Italy in the hands of a trading community, which owned no allegiance to his crown. Venice was the key of the Adriatic. To be the sovereign of the Adriatic, which might well be a point of ambition with him, it would be necessary that Frederic should become the sovereign of Venice. If Venice continued to be, as now, a free and distinct commonwealth, it would be difficult, nay it would be impossible, to command that sea. That the emperor was a stranger to these and similar ideas, was hardly to be believed; and there was strong reason to apprehend that, so soon as the Guelphic faction had been reduced to submission, an ulterior project would develop itself for incorporating the republic with the kingdom of Lombardy. Then the Venetians might once more have to unsheath the sword in defence of their hearths and homesteads, of their national rights, and free institutions; and it might be, that Albiola would be called, in the twelfth century, to witness a different spectacle from that, which she had seen in the days of Angelo Badoer and Pietro Trono. Independently of such considerations, there were others varying, indeed, from the foregoing in their nature, yet similar in their tendency. We scarcely need recur to the rupture, which occurred in 1170, between the republic and the Byzantine court, the calamitous campaign of 1171, the outlays and sacrifices, incidental to a war after a seven years' peace, the decimation of the troops by the plague,

and the loss of the greater part of a fleet of a hundred and thirty sail. These circumstances rendered the period, during which Michieli III. was at the head of affairs, a period of unusual difficulty and peril, and, in forming an estimate of his character and times, they should be kept in view and taken into the account.

The remains of Vitali Michieli were consigned to the vaults of Saint Zacchary, where the ashes of so many of his predecessors already rested in peace; and the death of that prince may be considered as bringing to a termination the first epoch of the history of Venice. For, as will be seen from the sequel, this sad and shocking catastrophe, and the circumstances, which were attendant upon it, led to an order of things which marks a new era in the annals of the commonwealth, and the following chapter will shew how a crime, great indeed and atrocious, yet having apparently no political bearing, was the immediate precursor of the second remarkable change which took place, a hundred and forty years after the revolution of 1033, in the Venetian constitution.

APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

No. I.

Letter of CASSIODORUS, *the Prætorian Prefect of* THEODORIC *the Great, King of the Goths, to the Maritime Tribunes of Venice.*

"Tribunis Maritimorum, Senator Præfectus Prætorio.

"Datâ pridem jussione censuimus, ut Istria vini, et olei species, quarum præsenti anno copia indulta perfruitur, ad Ravennatem feliciter dirigeret mansionem. Sed vos, qui innumerosa navigia in ejus confinio possidetis, pari devotionis gratia providete, ut, quod illa parata est nobis tradere, vos studeatis sub celeritate portare. Similis erit quippe utrisque gratia perfectionis, quando unum ex his dissociatum impleri non permittit effectum. Estote ergo promptissimi ad vicina, qui sæpe spatia transcurritis infinita, per hospitia quodammodo vestra discurritis, qui per patriam navigatis. Accedit etiam commodis vestris, quod vobis aliud iter aperitur perpetuâ securitate tranquillum: nam cum, ventis sævientibus, mare fuerit clausum, via vobis panditur per amœnissima fluviorum. Carinæ vestræ per flatus asperos non pavescunt. Terram cum summâ felicitate attingunt, et perire nesciunt, quæ frequenter impin-

guat. Putatur eminus quasi per prata ferri, cum eorum contigit alveum non videri. Tractæ funibus ambulant, quæ stare rudentibus consueverunt, et, conductione mutatâ, pedibus juvant homines naves suas; vectrices sine labore trahunt, et pro favore velorum utuntur passu prosperiore nantarum. Juvat referre, quemadmodum habitationes vestras sitas esse prospeximus. Venetiæ prædicabiles quondam plenæ nobilibus ab Austro Ravennam Padum-que contingunt; ab Oriente jucunditate Ionii litoris perfruuntur, ubi alternus æstus egrediens modo claudit, modo aperit faciem reciprocâ inundatione camporum. Hic vobis aquatilium avium more domus est: nam, qui nunc terrestris, modo cernitur insularis, ut illic magis existimes esse Ciclades, ubi subito locorum facies respicis immutatas; earum quippe solitudine per æquora longe patentia domicilia videntur sparsa, quæ non natura protulit, sed hominum cura fundavit. Viminibus enim flexilibus illigatis, terrena illis soliditas aggregatur, et marino fluctui tam fragilis munitio non dubitatur opponi. Scilicet quando vadosum litus moles arcere nescit undarum, et sine viribus fertur quod altitudinis auxilio non juvatur. Habitatoribus igitur una copia est, ut solis puscibus expleantur. Paupertas ibi cum divitibus sub æqualitate convivit; unus cibus omnes reficit; habitatio similis universa concludit; nesciunt de penatibus invidere, et sub hâc mensurâ degentes evadunt vitium, cum mundum constat esse obnoxium. In salinis autem exercendis tota contentio est. Pro aratris, pro falcibus cilindros volvitis. Inde vobis fructus omnis enascitur, quando in ipsis et quæ non facitis possidetis. Moneta quodammodo illic percutitur victualis; arti vestræ omnis fructus additus est. Potest aurum aliquis quærere, nemo est, qui non salem desideret invenire: merito, quando isti debetur omnis cibus, qui potest esse gratissimus; proinde naves, quas, more animalium, vestris parietis illigâstis, diligenti curâ reficite, ut, cum vos vir expertissimus Laurentius, qui ad procurandas spes (opes?) directus est, commonere tentaverit,

festinatis excurrere, quatenus expensas necessarias nullâ difficultate tardetis, qui pro qualitate aeris compendium vobis eligere potestis itineris."

No. II.

The Will of FORTUNATO, *Patriarch of Grado.*

"Quæ legavit, et fecit FORTUNATUS Patriarcha Ecclesiæ suæ.

"Inprimis altare S. Euphemiæ cum auro, et argento, et desuper duos Damaschinos, et unam purpuram, et unum fundulum, et unum Istoriale cum istoria de epifania, lineas duas cortinas historiales, quæ circundant tota sedilia, unde misi . . . . velo majore ante reges, quæ emi de Christophoro episcopo mancosos viginti, et alia. Uno Venedo majore misi tabulatum in ambas scolas de ecclesiæ S. Euphemiæ, duas coronas argenteas majores; in unâ ardet cesendelli centum. In alia ecclesiâ feci tales coronas, quales in Italiâ non sunt. Turres majores duas patenas, quales in ipsâ ecclesiâ multæ fuere; coronas aureas . . . . . habuimus turribulo parvo de auro . . . . . solidi auri mancosos XXX. et II. Feci majore similiter de argento pergula ante altare majore. Item omnia vasa deaurata et deargentata fronte, quæ mihi . . . . . dedit, valentiâ R(omanatos) 70. Cortinam, quam mihi donavit socera Passibo, quam ego volui comparare de illâ li. 40; tamen non minus illi merui ad sedem S. Marci peciam unam, quæ fuit comparata l(ibras) XV. Cortinas lineas duas, una de cubitis L. et V., aliam de 30. Illas tulit dericiator in suâ mercede; fecit exinde camisias et bragas ad suos clericos. Duas cortinas . . . . . choro paratas cum brandeo velo, id est ante cancellos de secretorio. Ad corpora beatissimorum martyrum fabricavi altaria de auro et de argento in longitudine pedes XV., et in latitudine tres et semisse; et post ipsum altare alium parietem deauratum et deargentatum similiter longitudine pe-

dum XV., et in altitudine pedes 4; et super ipso pariete arcus volutiles de argento, et super ipsos arcus imagines de auro et de argento, et super ipsa corpora peccias 8, quod ego misi . . . . . et de ipsa fecimus et in circuitu per cancellos ad ipsa corpora velo majore unum istoriale ante regias S. Quirini; et dedi Mauriano magistro argentum ad facere Templos nescio aut tres aut quatuor . . . . . et feci ibi altare unum. Tulit ipsos templos clericus ad ordinem Mauriano, et destruxit ipsum altare, et fecit exinde illos templos de S. Quirino; et medium parietem in longitudine de illo altari, quod tulit de ecclesiâ S. Pantaleonis de Novâ Civitate; et super ipsa corpora misi peccias tres ante regias S. Marci velum I., in circuitu altaris quadrabulum I., super altare similiter capsa, quæ venit comparata de Constantinopoli, libras X.; et altare, et super altare, et in circuitu altaris, pecciam unam. In oratorio ante corpora S. Quirini tria ædificavi altaria: unum in honorem S. Michaelis, aliud S. Pauli, tertium S. Benedicti: et ipsa in circuitu et desuper honorifice coperui: in S. Laurentio blata I., et desuper Macioda una: ad S. Paulum in circuitu altaris quadrabulum I., et desuper similiter: ad fontes S. Johannis in circuitu quadrabulum unum, et desuper fundi . . . . . in circuitu fontis velum lineum unum.. In Ecclesiâ S. Mariæ . . . . . altare, et in circuitu fundato majore I. et unum damaschinum, et unum frodatum album, et de . . . . . vandum jam libras XII., et, si Deo placuerit, adimplere cupio, et credo in Deo, et vos nolite dubitare, quod dico, Deo juvente sic facio; et coperui ipsam ecclesiam de plumbo de dono sancti imperii, et de meo certamine; et stravi ipsum porticum cum lapide usque in plateam publicam. In S. Zenone, in circuitu altaris, et desuper, palchum unum. Ad S. Pancratium similiter. Ecclesiâ S. Agatæ, ubi requiescunt 40 et duo martyres, erat in ruinis posita; et quando impetus maris veniebat, usque ad ipsa corpora ambulabat, sed tanta erat Dei miseri-

cordia, quod ipsa aqua feriebat parietes longe de ipsa corpora pedes 5. quod plures nostri sacerdotes viderunt. Ego autem cum Dei misericordiâ re-edificavi eam a fundamentis in altitudinem et longitudinem, ubi impetus maris accedere nunquam potest; et super ipsa feci arcus volutiles et super ipsos alios arcus volutiles; et feci ibi altare in honorem SS. Felicis et Fortunati paratum cum auro et argento, et ante ipsa corpora subter . . . . . : similiter altare paratum cum auro et argento; et desuper capsam, quæ empta fuit in Constantinopoli libras xv.; et super ipso arcu volutili, qui est super altare SS. Felicis et Fortunati edificavi altaria iv., S. Ceciliæ, S. Eugeniæ, S. Agneti, et S. Felicitati. Et post corpora beatissimorum martyrum in illâ absiá edificavi altare S. Luciæ, laus Deo Omnipotenti! illa altaria de palliis et linteaminibus honorifice co-operta sunt; et dedi ibi patenas et calices de argento, et unum casale in Pencircus cum vineis, et terris, et olivetis, quæ ego emi (empsi) de filiis Badoario. Et non recordo aut unum aut duos casales, qui pertinent de jure S. Ecclesiæ nostræ; et dedi ibi argentum libras x. in manum Agno Corepiscopo. Et omnem consuetudinem de S. Ecclesiâ sic prendat, sicut archipresbyter, aut archidiaconus; et dedi ibi unam casam prope ipsam ecclesiam, quam emi (empsi) de hominibus de Bevaziano. Ecclesiam autem S. Peregrini, quam Gradisiani (Gradenses) in illorum peccato fundamenta everterunt pro timore Franchorum, nos, Deo jubente, a fundamentis re-edificavimus: et scolas, mansiones, et porticos in honore edificavimus. Ecclesia autem S. Joannis major (majoris) tota erat vasta (vastata), et scola in ruinis posita; quare et ego, nec alii introire . . . . . ante habuit traves 18. Ego autem feci venire magistros de Franciâ: misi ibi traves . . . . . .

Desunt hic multa

Monasterio S. Dei Genitricis Mariæ in insulâ Barbinio dedi argenti libras 30; navem cum armaturâ suâ, grani modia centum: misimus ibi presbyteros et clericos, qui ibi Deum

cœli quotidiè laudant. Monasterium S. Juliani in insulâ . . . . ., quod in ruinis positum erat, edificavimus; misimus ibi presbyteros, et dedi illi argenti libras 2, ut ibi diu noctu que officium faciant. In sanctâ Ecclesiâ majori dedi per sacerdotes inter . . . . . et sericos planetas XVI. credo et amplius; Dalmaticos IX.; septem sunt: et de unâ fecit sibi Diaconus Venerius (Veniero) tunicam, et de aliâ Mauricius, qui in perditione ambulavit, tunicas sericas octo de bono linteamine ad omne subdiacono; et acolytos, de alio linteamine per sanctas Ecclesias intus et foras credo quod intuere non possum. Dimisi per illas insulas cavallos XII: Deus scit, meliores fuere de quinquagenos vel sexagenos mancosos; arma, lino, lana, canabe, coria, filtros, strumas, Ursinas, scrineas ferro amplius valentes quam centum libras; vini amphoras amplius quam ducentum, sine alias causas quod ego non possum recordare XVIII. Caldarias majores comparavi de illos missos, qui illos rame de casâ . . . . magistro milite tulerat. Brevè . . . . . in domo S. Hermagoræ inveni: in primis, grani modia XV., vini amphoras 9, auri facti *pesante* mancosos XXX. et III.; argenti facti de mesa libras 71. Ego inde habeo hic ad me bo(nas) libras 21. Sic perpensi quod in domo remansit, si plus invenis inter ista, quæ ego habeo, et illa, tunc sciatis quod demptum de meo de certamine est; et si minus invenis, si Deo placuerit, ego illa habeo restaurare de toto isto per viventem in secula non voto me habere, sed omnia revertar in sanctâ Ecclesiâ. Laudo ego Deo de meo habeo completa missa, quod ad me habeam, thesaurus S. Ecclesiæ omnis salvus est, quod ibi inveni certe fuit unus calix parvulus et non benefactus, per viventem in secula non pensavit amplius libris 114, ad augen (dum) 4 mancosos transmisi in Franchiam, et bonas gemmas adamantinas et jaguntos, ut faceret meliore et majore, si sanus est et vivus Ludovicus (Louis the Pious). Ego credo quod S. Ecclesia illum perdere non habet, et si aliquid . . . . venit, confido in Deo. Non vado de istâ luce, antequam ego

restaurare crêdite; non propheta sum, nec filius prophetæ, nam promissa a Deo, sic erit, quod in magno honore, et gratia S. Imperii in S. mea Ecclesiâ reverso (reversus) in pace et tranquilitate vobiscum diebus vitæ meæ gaudebo.

No. III.

Extract from a Work by JACOPO MORELLI, *entitled "Delle' Solennita e pompe Nuziali gia usate presso li Veneziani;' 4to. Venezia,* 1793, *regarding the "Brides of Venice."*

"RIMANE dunque, che fra le varie narrazioni quella che piu mostri di reggere alla critica vogliamo addottare. E qui nessuna io ne veggo da preferirsi a quella d'una cronaca d'autore anonimo, falsamente creduto essere il celebre Daniele Barbaro, patriarca d'Aquileia; la quale sembra composta sulla fine del secolo quindicesimo, e ancorchè contenga la sua parte di favole, e pero una delle buone opere in questo genere restateci, anche a giudicio del serenissimo Doge Foscarini, che lungamente di essa ne tratta. Opportuna cosa sia dunque, che qui se ne porti il seguente passo di lei, come in un mio buon testo a penna del secolo decimosesto si legge, sotto il Dogado di Pietro Candiano Terzo. 'Accorse in questi tempi un notabilissimo caso e degno d'eterna memoria, in questa città; il quale fu, che, essendo antica usanza introdotta fino dal principio, che, per gratificar i poveri del popolo, *ogni anno si maritavano dei beni del Commune dodici donzelle figliuole de poveri persone del popolo di Venezia;* le quali, il giorno della Traslazione di San Marco, che e addi 31 Gennaro, ornate con molte gioie, e ciascuna con la sua corona in testa, e con le dote, che erano loro assegnate, le quali tutte cose erano dal Comune date alle dette donzelle; ma le dote erano donate per lo maritare, e le corone e le gioie pressate per ornamento di quelle; andavano il giorno sopradetto in chiesa di San Pietro di Castello a sposarsi, ove dopo cantata il vescovo una solennissima messa, e

fatte le cerimonie, che erano bellissime e lunghissime, le faceva sposar ognuna da suo marito, e le consegnava la sua dote, e poi partivano con gran festa e con molti sacre, e andava ciascuna alla sua casa,' &c. &c. *Delle Solennita*, pp. 5, 6. So much for Mr. Rogers! Let me quote a few of the lines, which the author of *Italy* has bestowed on this subject:—

> "It was St. Mary's Eve, and all poured forth
> For some great festival. The fisher came
> From his green islet, bringing o'er the waves
> His wife and little one; the husbandman
> From the firm land, with many a friar and nun,
> And village maiden, her first flight from home,
> Crowding the common ferry. All arrived;
> And in his straw the prisoner turned and listened;
> So great the stir in Venice. Old and young
> Thronged her three hundred bridges; the grave Turk
> Turbaned, long-vested, and the cozening Jew
> In yellow hat and threadbare gaberdine,
> Hurrying along. *For, as the custom was,*
> *The noblest sons and daughters of the State,*
> *Whose names are written in the Book of Gold,*
> *Were on that day to solemnize their nuptials.*"
>
> *Italy*, pp. 69-70, ed. 4to, 1830.

No. IV.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE CRUSADES.

ITINERARY FROM VENICE TO JOPPA.

A Venetiis ad Parentium sunt . . .	100 m^{a}·	Italica.
A Parentio ad Corphonam	700	„
A Corphonâ ad Modonum	300	„
A Modonâ ad Cretam	300	„
A Cretâ ad Rhodum	300	„
A Rhodo ad Cyprum	300	„

A Cypro ad Joppen tridui navigatione.

The foregoing fragment is taken from the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 237; 8vo, 1841-3. It is there stated to be

printed from a MS. in the Sloane Collection (British Museum) of the fifteenth century.

ANOTHER ROUTE.

From Venice to Pola	100	miles.
From Pola to Corfu	600	„
From Corfu to Modon	300	„
From Modon to Candia	300	„
From Candia to Rhodes	300	„
From Rhodes to Baaffe (Baffo) in Cyprus	400	„
From Baaffe to Port Jaffa	300	„

Informacõn for Pylgrymes to the Holy Londe, 4to, 1824. (Roxburghe Club.)

The following is also taken from the *Informacõn for Pylgrymes,* which appears to be the earliest Hand-Book for Travellers extant:—

"A good provysyon whan a man is at Venyse, and purposeth by Goddis grace to passe by the se to porte Jaffe into the Holy Londe, and so to the Sepulchre of Our Lorde Jhesu Criste in Jerl'm, he must dispose hym in this wyse.

"Fyrste yf ye shall goe in a galey, make your covenaunte wyth the patron betyme. And chose you a place in the sayd galey in the overmest stage. For in the lowest under it is ryght evyl and smouldryng hote and stynkynge. And ye shal paye for youre ship freyghte and for meete and drynke to porte Jaffe, and agayne to Venyse L. Ducates for to be in a goode honest place, and to have your ease in the galey; and also to be cherysshed.

"Yf a man shall passe in a shyp or a caryk, thene chose you a chambere as nyghe the myddes of the shippe, as ye may. For there is leest rollynge or tomblynge to keepe your brayne and stomacke in tempere. And in the same chambere to keepe your thynges in sauf garde. And bye you at Venyse a padlocke to hange on the doore, whan ye shall passe into the londe. And ye shall paye for meete and drynke and shyppe

freyghte to porte Jaffe, and agayne to Venyse xxx. ducates at the leest.

"Also, whan ye shall make your covenaunte, take good hede, that the patron be bounde unto you all before the Duke of Venyse in a M. ducates to kepe all manere covenauntes wyth you. That is to wyte, that he shall condute to certen havens by ye way to refresshe you, and to gete you fresshe water and fresshe brede and flesshe.

"Also, that he shall not tary (or) lenger, at noo haven (more) than thre dayes at the moost wythoute consent of you all. And that he shall not take into the vessell, neyther goynge nor comynge, noo manere of marchaundyse wythoute your lycense for to dysese you in your places. And also for taryinge of passages by the se.

"And by the havens, that here ben followynge, he shall l('e you, yf ye woll," &c. &c. (Here follows the second Itinerary above given.)

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Vol. i. p. 193.—It was not until the preceding sheets had been printed off, that I observed the passage, which I now subjoin, regarding the visit of Otho III. to Venice in 998. It is to be found in a work of somewhat uncommon occurrence, entitled *Ricerche Storico Critiche sull' Opportunita della Laguna Veneta pel Commercio; sull' Arti, e sulla Marina di questo Stata;* 8vo, Venezia, 1803.

"Nella chiesa suddetta (San Marco) vi sono colonne, ed altre cose, che non ponno essere state lavorate che da Veneziani. Ne si sa d'altronde che fossero chiamati artefici stranieri per lavorare in essa, come neppure nel publico Palazzo. Questo fino dall 995 veniva creduto ragguardevole insieme colle torri, che, secondo l' uso di allora, avea annesse. Decorosa fabrica dissela l' autore della cronaca Sagornina; *e nella Torre Orientale di essa il Doge Orseolo alloggio l'Emperatore Ottone dopo avergli mostrato tutto il palagio, come una delle belle cose esistenti in Venezia,* p. 177.

END OF VOL I.

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